

**Voices of Enterprise: Power in Enterprise Education within a
New Zealand Secondary School**

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Abstract

This is a research study on enterprise education in a New Zealand secondary school. Over the past two decades, enterprise education has become a feature of secondary education globally. The emergence of this new phenomenon exists in a context of global neo-liberal initiatives. Within New Zealand, enterprise is now a mainstream feature of secondary education. The practice of enterprise education has a significant impact on schools and student learning.

The emergence of enterprise within secondary education is a story of power. This research examines who has power in terms of enterprise education and who are the winners and losers.

A sole case study assists in providing answers to these research questions. The case study school is a national role model for enterprise education. The school has experienced extraordinary success and has developed a social enterprise model. Stakeholders' relationships within and outside the school are explored. In order to explore power, Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional model of power has been adopted. This model is broad and captures all the dimensions of power, including the work of other theorists of power.

The results show that power is vested in several stakeholders. Different weight is attached to different stakeholder voices. Tensions in the commercial world between social enterprise and commercial enterprise are also reflected at the school. There are few concrete examples of decision making. Most power is exercised through non-decision making and as a result of a new culture of enterprise supported by media attention. A social enterprise model has embraced existing school values and provides for partnerships with the community. There is fluidity between winners and losers from the model; however, the former include enterprise students, and school, state, Catholic Church and business interests. The latter are those who are not fully engaged with enterprise, through the Young Enterprise Scheme (YES), and those within the college community and stakeholders who have been denied a voice.

The case study school has developed a unique social enterprise model. The model has diffused sharp business values to provide an acceptable model for the school. The model has developed, but on occasion lacks authenticity and appears tokenistic. A need exists for genuine opportunities for consultation with all stakeholders. This research has captured a journey of power, which operates at different levels. There is a power that exists within the school community and wider stakeholders. Power is intimately linked to the notion of interests. It is clearly in the interests of the case study school to survive within a neo-liberal environment, which has affected the structure of all schools. This insight into the power of enterprise education can inform best practice and influence policy.

List of Abbreviations

BoT	Board of Trustees
CDC	Canterbury Development Corporation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
EE	Enterprise Education
ENZT	Enterprise New Zealand Trust
ERO	Education Review Office (New Zealand)
HoF	Head of Faculty
MoE	Ministry of Education (New Zealand)
MP	Member of Parliament
NAG	National Administrative Guidelines
NCLB	No Child Left Behind (Policy)
NEG	National Education Guidelines
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NZCEO	New Zealand Catholic Education Office
NZPPTA	New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
QPEC	Quality Public Education Coalition
SMT	Senior Management Team
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
YES	Young Enterprise Scheme
YET	Young Enterprise Trust

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Foreword

I started teaching at the case study school in January of 2003, a teacher of history and economics. I resigned from the school at the end of 2008.

During this time, I was part of a transformation that saw an enterprise culture develop within the school. Along with teaching economics, I was responsible for facilitating the YES. The first year of engagement was 2003, when a student team made biscotti. Profits were donated to a school in Rarotonga. The YES was added to the economics class to maintain student interest. Everything changed when a YES team won the Lion Foundation Company of the Year Award in 2004. This began an unstoppable journey of enterprise at the school. Continuous regional, national and international awards were won. A social enterprise model was developed; the model was acceptable to the school community and provided a source of affirmation and inspiration for all stakeholders. Alternatively, the school was also seen by some in the community as a model of excess to be feared.

I was a small part of a wider equation. The growth of EE was nourished by the SMT, BoT and external stakeholders. The social enterprise model, now a defining feature of the school, embraces the values of the Christian Brothers, with an emphasis on social justice. The success of this model is regularly celebrated by words and deeds.

Five years ago, I was sitting at the Annual YES Dinner in Wellington. It was hosted by the Young Enterprise Trust (YET) and attended by New Zealand's business elite. The guest of honour was the Governor-General. Table guests included the college principal, national director of Catholic education and students from two college YES teams, who were later to receive national awards. We were dining through five courses and reflecting on the past year of achievements.

As I was sitting there I thought, "what have we done?"

I could never be totally objective in providing a response. I bring my own values system to this research, which requires ongoing reflexivity. I wondered had the school been party to

manipulating a group of selected students for the advancement of someone else's agenda, or as educators had we been party to advancing our own careers in what was a different and edgy new area? Had we become collectively addicted to winning without looking at who and what values we had left behind?

The school has benefited from enterprise publicity, perhaps disproportionately due to the annual endeavours of a small but motivated group of students. Media success has become part of the college culture. Success was celebrated at every opportunity. Other teams including the college choir and chess club lack such celebrity status within the college community.

YES company directors were fast tracked to become student leaders. Teachers who did not join the journey of EE were labelled 'negative' and 'old school', lacking the skills to be part of the new culture.

Students not smart enough, or lacking the skills of self-promotion to be YES company directors, were left behind. Internal conflicts were never named. The culture of enterprise that existed at the college did not allow any opportunity for detrimental views to be expressed.

I was wondering too if school and YES students had taken advantage of marginalised groups within the community. Was YES community engagement genuine or tokenistic? Partnerships were established, relationships initiated and profits realised.

The small number of students, privileged to be part of enterprise journeys, may have exploited their position within the college community. Did student motivation include the power to exploit their position within a school community that valued enterprise, media publicity and national awards or to assist the marginalised within the community?

This is the story of a phenomenon that captured a school community. The power of enterprise needs to be identified and its beneficiaries and victims identified.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Historically, New Zealand had a commitment to principles of free and accessible education. The commitment was summarised by Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education (1939, cited in Spoonley, 1994): “Every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers” (p. 162). This principle, which governed education for the past 40 years, had encountered the new phenomenon of enterprise.

The focus of this study is EE at a New Zealand secondary school. This study seeks to answer the following questions: why had the phenomenon occurred, how did it spread to schools in New Zealand. Research was undertaken employing a case study school. The school voluntarily adopted EE prior to compulsion. This research tells a journey of power that accompanied EE and seeks to identify winners and losers. Further, this research will contribute to the knowledge of EE within secondary schools where a clear deficit exists.

This single case study environment is important. What occurred at this school, although extraordinary, allows generalised learning (Gerring, 2007). The relationships the school had with significant stakeholders took learning beyond the confines of the school into the wider context of New Zealand society.

The research is not about policy making but may have implications for education practice. Insight is provided into the practice of EE. The story is about how enterprise operated at a single school. An exploration of relationships within the school and externally occurs. Some of these relationships are complex and do change and evolve. Enterprise has become a mainstream term. It has been applied to all facets of global life, including the organisational structures of universities and schools. This spread has been facilitated by globalisation including the need to gain competitive advantage, and provide students with skills to ride the waves of a new knowledge economy (Hardy, 2010). The definition of enterprise and its application will form a substantive part of this research.

In a New Zealand context, the school curriculum has identified enterprise and entrepreneurship as key values (MoE, 2010). Initially, the case study school pursued an enterprise pathway to gain advantage over other schools, and to equip students with skills. A key question is, what forces existed within and outside the school that made enterprise such a prominent feature of the school? Through this research, an understanding can be provided as to where power resides in terms of EE. The story is also of national significance, relating how a once fringe area of interest has achieved mainstream status. This substantial change is important as education is compulsory. Enterprise was added to the curriculum with limited MoE leadership or resourcing. The delivery of EE presents issues in terms of equity and equality between students and within schools.

EE forms part of a neo-liberal environment that has affected the structure of schools. A range of stakeholders supported this new phenomenon within education. At the same time, opposition to EE exists. In relation to my case study, opposition includes elements within the Catholic Church, some teachers, and national organisations. As a result of enterprise, there is a further need to identify who are the winners and losers, both at the case study school and nationally. Thus, the research questions are:

1. Where does power lie in terms of Enterprise Education within New Zealand secondary schools and why is it important to identify where the power lies?
2. Who are the winners and losers of Enterprise Education?

These questions arise from the lack of detailed knowledge of operations of enterprise within New Zealand schools.

EE is a story of decision and non-decision making (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962), of power and practice (Lukes, 2005) told through an empirical study. This new form of learning is now required of each young New Zealander and requires exploration.

1.2 Background to the Research

EE teaches the skills of business. Such skills are deemed necessary for national economic survival and the ongoing success of a capitalist economy. A fine tribute to the existence and operation of capitalism is provided by Connell and Irving (1980). This Australian reflection is provided from a drive around a large city noting how the cityscape was formed by a series of decision making and non-decision making in boardrooms. In the same way a drive around the case study school reveals a standard physical environment. The difference is what occurs inside the buildings; what is taught and valued. This research is initially reflective: telling the story of enterprise and how it was adopted and applied at the case study school and nationally. It is a story of power and influence. There are winners and losers as a result of EE and voices heard and not heard at all levels. The beginning of the research is initially a reflective exercise, then exploratory in identifying power, and then moving to implications for future practice.

1.3 The Exceptional School: ‘Camelot’

EE is different; it is not just another add-on, such as a sport or a new environmental focus, but goes to the very heart of the identity of the school. The case study school is exceptional due to awards realised, student achievements, and institutional enterprise practice and media attention. When students of the college were practicing a welcome *haka* for a pending visit from a prime minister to launch a YES product, a teacher made the analogy between the mythical kingdom of Camelot and the culture of enterprise at the school (Field Note: 06/06/2009). Camelot is unique, a place where the sun never sets. King Arthur’s words are reflective of the status of enterprise within the school: “It’s true! It’s true! The crown has made it clear. The climate must be perfect all the year. Camelot! Camelot! I know it sounds a bit bizarre, but in Camelot that’s how conditions are” (Lerner, 1960).

The SMT, consisting of the principal, deputy principals and director of religious education, had made it clear that enterprise is a core value of the school. Institutional practice and rituals have been established to support enterprise. Those holding national political power often visit the college to pay homage to the leading enterprise school (Field Notes: 13/05/2003; 09/06/2005; 06/06/2009). Not only have prominent individuals sought to be

aligned to the success of the college by visits, some have even purchased shares in YES companies. One visitor told a YES school assembly, “you are all winners” (Member of Parliament 1, 6 July 2010).

YES products are unique. All products have attempted to assist with societal issues, including Maori literacy achievement, integration of refugees, noise from boy racers, and illicit cell-phone use. On one occasion, student products followed the New Zealand Army into the warzone of Afghanistan (New Zealand Defence Force News, Afghanistan, 2007).

The school has received significant media attention. International coverage has also occurred: “A mobile phone-detector developed by six Kiwi school boys had generated international interest and sales” (BBC News Channel, 20 July 2004). As one New Zealand prime minister noted: “not an ordinary school” (Field Note: 15/04/2003). The international media coverage received also reflects a globalisation that exists, and a sharing of ideas and policy.

1.4 The relevance of this study in international context: A Global Acceptance of Enterprise

The international relevance of this study is important. A clear mirroring of change is evident as between secondary schools and universities. The direction of ‘enterprise universities’ has both changed and informed practice in the secondary school environment (Donckels, 1991; Fillion, 2004; Peterman & Kennedy, 2003). A clear relational link of enterprise exists between secondary education and universities.

Australia has now fully adopted EE within its school system (Young, 1999). This adoption is also mirrored in the Scottish context (Watt, 2002). The shared rationale is a need for national economic growth. A similar rationale has intensified EE delivery within the US, Ireland and England (Hardy, 2010; Scott & Twomey, 1988). Nevertheless, the view that EE will lead to improved economic performance is contested (Shacklock, Hattam & Smyth, 2000).

Concern relating to EE exists around issues of equity and equality (Trachtman, 1988). Also teachers often suspect EE is concerned primarily with profit making, large

organisations and the production of entrepreneurs (Lewis & Massey, 2003). Another foreseeable risk is exposure to brand names: “perks for business include an enhanced public image, increased sales and free advertising” (Cromarty, 1997, p. 33). Philosophical arguments are also raised is the purpose of education:

Are we losing sight of what a school’s purpose is, to teach reading, writing, maths and science, social studies. Do businesses actually improve education and prepare the students for the transition from school to work? (Cromarty, 1997, p. 32)

Fairness of EE has also arisen in an international context. In addition to naming concerns, strategies exist for masking and reducing them. These include a reframing of language (Finger & Asun, 2001). Strategies also exist to increase enterprise growth. Teachers need to “convince decision-makers that this is not yet another ‘fuzzy’ subject that needs to be accommodated in an already overflowing curriculum” (UNESCO, 2008, p. 5). It is suggested the goal can be realised through teacher selection, training, curriculum and assessment, engagement with stakeholders and sustainability. In terms of definition, there is an urgent call to rebrand EE as ‘entrepreneurship education’ (UNESCO, 2008).

It is proposed that a new branding of EE can operate for all environments. It is broad enough to encompass all countries and therefore not have to be adjusted to account for resource allocation, specifically issues of equality and equity, such as those between countries and different schools. As UNESCO (2008) states, “the definition of entrepreneurship education in developed countries and developing countries are different” (p. 12). It is significant, within an international context, that concerns are identified with plans to defuse or mask them. It is also noted that flexibility is required, and that cultural aspects must be taken into consideration (UNESCO, 2008).

Discussions and planning at an international level to overcome barriers to EE indicate an awareness of issues. Suggested strategies may not overcome issues of equality and equity that exist between schools.

1.5 The New Zealand Context: Neo-liberal Reforms and Secondary School Education

Traction for the initiation and growth of EE occurred after the election of New Zealand's fourth Labour government in 1984. Neo-liberal economic and education policies were adopted. This shift reflected international changes towards a similar ideology (Harvey, 2005). Both 'Reaganism' in the United States (US) and 'Thatcherism' in Britain was representative of an "extraordinary diffusion across the globe of neo-liberal ideas and assumptions" (Lukes, 2005, p. 10) (see discussion chapter 3). New Zealand education reforms included school restructuring. Political catch cries of choice, diversity and excellence were promoted and used to sell the key elements of neo-liberal education policy. Terms and phrases such as 'propaganda', 'indoctrination', and 'social engineering' were employed to describe the new education environment (Snook, 1996). Lauder (1991) states, the "restructuring of education was sold, in part, on the grounds that it will lead to greater economic efficiency and productivity" (p. 418).

At a basic level, the story of EE is a story of power. Enterprise has secured placement within each secondary school. The key question is: how did this occur? A neo-liberal context existed that provided an opportunity for business to influence education; "Business interests were increasingly influential on school and university councils and responsive to market-forces" (Welch, 1998, p. 172). This context allowed business practice to influence secondary schools in terms of content delivery and structure. In terms of content, an influential tool was the delivery of EE.

1.6 Enterprise Education within New Zealand Secondary Schools

The issues surrounding EE are globalisation, a need for a knowledge economy and competition. These issues are reflected in the voice of entrepreneur Tony Falkenstein:

New Zealand has a huge potential resource in entrepreneurial skill amongst our young people, but we are not mining it because we do not take enough effort to teach financial literacy and business skills. There exists a talent pool to become global leaders in entrepreneurial skills. (*The Press*, 2009, p. 10)

These comments reflect why research into EE is both relevant and material at this time.

The new operating structure of New Zealand secondary schools has provided an excellent environment to foster and grow EE. In New Zealand, the principal enterprise stakeholder is YET: “we are major players in both EE and financial education, and it is wonderful to see the growing demand for our services” (Enterprise Matters, 2007, p. 2). A milestone was the remodelling of New Zealand education on business principles (Crocombe, Enright & Porter, 1991). The new model was named, ‘Tomorrow Schools’. The reform driver was the Picot Report (1988, p. 36): “The time has arrived for quite radical changes for the education delivered by schools”.

Initially, change occurred at the governance level but there were implications for the daily operation of schools. Devolution of responsibility occurred (Macpherson, 1993; Milne, 1995). Individual schools, not the MoE, were now responsible for building maintenance, staffing, marketing, strategic planning and raising additional funds (Wylie, 1995).

The effect of structural change within New Zealand schools has been examined by Thrupp (2001, 2007) and Wylie (1995). The results show differences between schools. There is no question that schools are now aligned with commercial organisations: “Important problems have developed over the last decade, relating to social inequality which has been neglected or intensified” (Thrupp, 2007, p.15). Links to business, for high-decile¹ schools, have provided a means of topping up the operations grant for all kinds of purposes, for instance, to buy expensive items such as computers (Thrupp, 2007). However, limited business relations were found to exist with low-decile schools. The reality was benefits from business links depended on the wealth of the surrounding community (Wylie, 1995). The new alignment of schools to business and a marked lack of research on EE (see discussion below) raise clear issues of power.

1.7 A Definition of Enterprise Education

A clear definition of EE is difficult to ascertain. Within one country, “different localities

¹ The term ‘decile’ refers to the socioeconomic index employed by the MoE (1 to ten) for schools based on economic resources available in geographically defined communities.

and even different schools have different definitions with some schools calling everything enterprising whilst others focus narrowly on business subjects” (McLarty, Dubit Limited, Highley, Brightpurpose & Alderson, 2010, p. 38). Differences of definition provide a feature of this research. In order to analyse various stakeholder responses, as to the definition, a baseline definition is advanced. A definition for EE is asserted based on desired student values, affirmed by the MoE (2010), fused with a content-based definition, as endorsed by the OECD. Thus, a baseline definition comprises two parts. First it includes educating students to be confident, motivated, reliable, resourceful, enterprising, entrepreneurial and resilient. Secondly a content-based definition exists which includes the teaching of skills needed to start a business (Ball, 1989). This definition provides a clear baseline that is consistent with “England which employs a similar definition” (McLarty et al., 2010, p. 34). A baseline definition allows good comparative analysis of stakeholder voices.

Research on enterprise in New Zealand reveals the lack of a clear definition. The MoE “needs to provide clarity around what EE means and where it fits into the curriculum” (Renwick & Gray, 2001, p. 26). Research concluded that very different EE definitions and practices existed nationally without any leadership (Renwick & Gray, 2001). In sum, under the auspices of EE no certainty exists with respect to definition and practice.

Inequalities between schools are exasperated by a lack of definition for the term ‘enterprise’ (Renwick & Gray, 2001). A variety of definitions exist and are adopted, many including skills and thematically based approaches. This is also an issue in an Australian context (Young, 1999). As a result, different schools undertake random, unrelated activities and practices under the auspices of enterprise. An example is the case study school, which has adopted a specific social enterprise model consistent with its special character. An historic reluctance exists in defining EE (Coffield, 1990). Generalised examples of enterprise can include:

So-called entrepreneurial attributes like initiative and flexibility, through sophisticated skills like the ability to resolve conflicts and the ability to solve problems to routine tasks, and the use of alphabetical order and index system to locate information in dictionaries and reference books. (Coffield, 1990, p.103)

Definitions tend to be circular and “tricked out with the rhetoric of progressive education” (Coffield, 1990). Uncertainty around definition generates confusion and different practice, which are features of EE within New Zealand.

An examination of EE in New Zealand reveals there is no clear definition: an absence of research exists which is also mirrored internationally. There is also a lack of understanding about which groups and stakeholders have power. Difficulties exist in ascertaining who is responsible for the growth of enterprise and why it has developed. A related issue is to identify who are its winners and losers. Part of any answer requires an exploration of structural change affecting all schools. What is clear is the phenomenon of EE is now part of daily life for New Zealand students.

1.8 Chapter Summary

EE is a significant issue: a phenomenon that is reflective of neo-liberalism and one that is being pursued proactively in New Zealand and globally. An infrastructure exists for the delivery of EE within New Zealand. Voices of power have informed both enterprise policy and practice. A variance exists in terms of definition and practice. What influences or power secured the initiation of EE, and allow its spread with virtually no opposition? Where is the source of power? Where did discussion take place and when did decision making occur?

Chapter 2

Power, Values and Identity in an Entrepreneurial School

2.1 Introduction

“Power is at its most effective when least observable” (Lukes, 2005, p. 1). Power is the most significant concept in social science. There are many views on power, but a three-dimensional model of power provided by Lukes (1974, 2005) provides a pathway. This model is sufficiently broad to embrace the perspectives of different theorists, and is the main theoretical framework for this thesis. Nuutine (1997) undertook research, based on a theoretical analysis, on the relationship between power and education. The research revealed teacher-pupil relationships were surrounded and constituted by a web of power-relations. “Educators are both submitted and empowered by power-relations, including explicit administrative institutions and a more hidden informal power system” (Nuutine, 1997, p. 248).

Lukes’ framework provides an encompassing definition of power and can be applied to explore power at the case study school. The framework provides a multilayered approach to identifying different forms and uses of power. Lukes’ model has been applied within generalised educational environments, but not in a secondary school context. Limitations do exist (see later) but the model is sufficiently inclusive to accommodate other theoretical perspectives on power. I intend to show throughout this thesis that it is particularly useful to understand the process of conscientisation and critical thinking at the case study school.

Schools are institutions for the dissemination of knowledge, and involve a dependency which is sustained by hierarchal structures. Students are dependent on teachers for knowledge. Parents are dependent on information. Teachers are dependent for jobs and the institutions themselves are dependent on both private and government funding. Power relations are embedded in almost every school activity and interaction. Parental choice is also relevant. Different external stakeholders and defined groups within the school, including teachers, SMT and BOT, are reliant on this parental choice for student

enrolments. A difficult balancing act exists between school survival, in a neo-liberal environment, and meeting the needs of all stakeholders.

Power, with regard to my case study, cannot be properly understood without reference to the neo-liberal context which has shaped New Zealand education since the early 1980s. While I will elaborate on this in the next chapter, at present I want to clarify that the neo-liberal approach to education “provides a standards agenda for schools” (Mahony, Menter & Hextall, 2004, p. 435). This translates into a constant emphasis on accountability through the use of student test scores and school rankings. Webb (2005) suggests such techniques provide the only kind of visibility that enables policy makers to hold educators accountable. This form of “visibility including data-surveillance.....compels educators to comply with state and federal standards through threats of sanctions and promises of rewards” (Webb, 2005, p. 194). The ‘high stakes’ associated with such accountability and measurement bring teachers to the “point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 39). Within such an environment there is public exposure of school ‘performance’ through crude forms of accountability such as the public reporting of test scores.

Despite entrenched processes of accountability, evidence exists that the neo-liberal experiment has been a failure on many grounds: “not least because of the de-professionalizing effects on teachers” (Angus, 2012, p. 232). This policy failure is identified globally, particularly in England (Alexander, 2009), the USA (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Hursh, 2008) and Australia (Lingard, 2010). Despite this rejection, the disciplinary effects of neo-liberal thinking on education remain powerful (Angus, 2012). Schools are locked within the constraint of this environment along with inherent hierarchical structures which instil a dependency on those within a school community. It is the EE programme of the case study school, and the power dynamics relating to it, which is the focus of this Ph.D. study.

Next to the prevailing influence of a neo-liberal context the case study school is seeking to differentiate itself by advocating social justice. Research suggests the pursuit of such a pathway will conflict not only with the neo-liberal context but also with the inherent hierarchical and dependent structures within schools.

Research on advancing theories of democratic governance and social justice, with respect to school governance, suggests significant challenges (Mncube & Mufora, 2013). It was found from the perspective of parents that “difficult power relations, exclusionary practices and a disregard for social-justice principles existed” (Mncube & Mufora, 2013, p. 16). Ideally a just school would: promote inclusion and equity; hold high expectations for all learners; develop reciprocal community relationships; involve a system wide approach; and engage in direct social justice education (Carrithers, et al., 2006). Further, Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2006) maintain that for leaders to advance social justice advocacy in schools they must be, “critically pluralist and democratic, transformative, moral and ethical, feminist or caring, and spiritually or culturally responsive” (Gerstl-Pepin, 2006, p. 20). It was noted that such an aspiration would not be easily achieved. Schools are seen to be sites of cultural politics that serve to reproduce and perpetuate inequality. Mncube and Mufora (2013) concluded that schools “must learn to diminish undemocratic power relationships and use power to transform present social-relationships” (p. 16). In sum schools are places of hierarchy which are surrounded by power. Issues of power become more pronounced where schools seek to advocate social justice, and operate in a neo-liberal environment. Now that I have set the background scene for the study of power in the particular case study school I will, in the rest of this chapter, review the concept of power in more depth, then discuss Lukes’ three-dimensional models of power, its application and a critique. Next I will examine the Foucauldian approach to power and look at its application, and conclude with my rationale for choosing Lukes’ model of power and identify the benefits.

2.2 The Concept of Power

Power is one of the most significant concepts in social science; however, the concept is contested (Béland, 2010). Two key questions are crafted which express the complexity of power: “how to think about power theoretically and how to study power empirically?” (Lukes, 2005, p. 1). Lukes’ response to each question was to think about power more broadly rather than in a narrow manner. In order to facilitate such an approach, a three-dimensional model was developed by Lukes and will be discussed further below. However, before examining Lukes’ specific contribution the chapter will further contextualised the concept of power.

Decision and non-decision making are integral to examining power. The effects of using power “are as visible as the sun, but its constitution, and application remain as invisible as

the air we breathe” (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1997, p. 555). Freire (1986) examines power in relation to education. Also important is his work on partnerships, an integral feature of enterprise, and critical student thinking (see Chapter 13). In contrast, Foucault (1980a) puts more emphasis on humans as victims of circumstance. Although all three frameworks of power, of Lukes, Foucault and Freire, are widely applied in studies of education (Schee, 2009; Klaf & Kwan, 2010) they have distinct differences as well as similarities. In the next sections, I will show how they can all be accommodated within Lukes’ framework. All are theories integral in the context of education and institutions because power can be identified on a broad range of levels.

Theories of dependency relate to both Foucault (1980a) and Freire (1986). The latter provides a description of the symbolic relationship between power and knowledge. A dependent party, by definition, must be dependent on another agent. Clover (2006) states “the knowledge that interacts with power: that makes power possible, goes beyond mere knowing. The knower to be recognised as such: must act” (Clover, 2006, p. 21). The most common action involves speech. Freire (1986) argues that language is never neutral but rather always conveys a certain culturally transmitted worldview or aspiration. As such, language is much more than simply “a means of communication” (Finger & Asun, 2001, p. 83). Foucault (1980a) states those who possess knowledge about a phenomenon, event, circumstance or machine also possess an ability to name what is known (Foucault, 1980a, p. 119). Those who possess the ability and language to name, also have the ability to control and create. Language is therefore power (Habermas, 2008). According to the organisational theorist Greenfield, “language literally makes reality appear and disappear; those who control language control thought, and thereby themselves and others” (Greenfield, 1984, p. 154). This theme is further explored by Hastings (1999) who examines the conventions and patterns of language use. Language may well legitimise power inequalities and how they might contribute to developing norms of behaviour: “Language practices can be seen as motivated by power or simply language can be viewed as a reflection of power” (Hastings, 1999, p. 10). Further Tilly (1991) notes power is built into our language. Language provides a tool that allows insight into changes in social relations. The language of change is viewed as an index of other kinds of social change; language analysis is a way of analysing new phenomena. In sum, “political and social-change can occur through direct linguistic change” (Hastings, 1999, p. 11).

Linguistic changes are key components of policy change and assist in creating an entrepreneurial identity. Language that is organised along themes or disciplines becomes discourse, another central concept in Foucault's analytical framework. Ball (1990) states "discourse is about what is said and thought, but also who can speak, when and with what authority they embody meanings and social-relationships" (p. 2). People can question that which is taken for granted or strengthen it (Ball, 1990).

In this research, assumptions of power in ordinary speech exist and are of importance, as is the written word. There are power dynamics embedded in particular institutional practices and relations. It is important the reader understands relations and power and "perceive[s] the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation that can transform" (Freire, 1986, p. 34). This is not a simple task, Freire (cited in Clover, 2006) maintains:

those who have power can transform everything surrounding it: through interaction and discourse. It is also not simple because our educational institutions, political systems, and the digital revolution in particular have tended to reproduce or reinforce social-inequalities, exhibiting the power either to empower or domesticate. (p. 22)

Understanding that discourses constrain the possibilities of thought, I note in this study who speaks and who remains silent. I attend to words that are unspoken, for discourses may stand in an antagonistic relationship to other discourses, other possibilities of meaning, other claims, rights and positions. When applying the "principle of discontinuity" (Foucault, cited in Ball, 1990, p. 2) to the "language of new technologies (and EE), what has not been said about problem areas assumes an overarching significance" (Clover, 2006, p. 22). Language usage and its relationship to power are a commonality of both Freire and Foucault. Fortunately, Lukes' (2005) power framework is broad enough to be inclusive of the ideas of these two key theorists as it embraces the shared power of language. The model is also sufficiently broad to capture non-decision making and acknowledges that power may be exercised by individuals, collectives, groups and institutions.

2.3 Lukes' Three-Dimensional Model of Power

A school is made up of a nexus of power relationships. A framework is required to tell the story of power at the case study school. Lukes has developed such a framework (see Table 2.1). Lukes' focus is on power over others but he notes that power over others will often involve collective power and be combined with beneficent power. Collective power or action is reflective of a collective policy, provided by a group, class, or an institution. Such "power is manifest, but not attributable to particular individuals' decisions or behaviour" (Lukes, 2005, p. 26). This is contrasted to beneficent power which is derived from "the most supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions..." (Lukes, 2005, p. 28). Power is arguably the more effective the less perceptible its workings are to either agents or observers thereby causing a problem for researchers. The model was developed to address this problem; from an initial version published in 1974. The revised work (Lukes, 2005) adds two new chapters to the original analysis. Lukes' (2005, p. 10) work addresses the question of how willing compliance to domination is assured. He answers it through a framework that embraces the existence of three types or dimensions of power.

Table 2.1: Distinctive Features of the Three Views of Power

Dimension of Power	Summary of focus
One-Dimensional View of Power	Focus on the following behaviour: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making • (key) issues • observable (overt) conflict • (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation
Two-Dimensional View of Power	Qualified) critique of behavioural focus, focusing on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making and non-decision making • issues and potential issues • observable (overt or covert) conflict • (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances
Three-Dimensional View of Power	Critique of behaviour, focusing on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) • issues and potential issues • observable (overt or covert), and latent conflict • subjective and real interests

(Source: Lukes (2005, p. 29))

The One-dimensional View

Power is most visibly at work when in a conflict of interests between agents, an individual or a collective; one prevails over another or others. By exercising power the powerful agent demonstrably has that power but, since power is a capacity, that agent can have the power without exercising it. The conflict, on this view, is between an agent's overt preferences as revealed by their choice behaviour and can be interpersonal, within or between organizations. It can be legitimate or illegitimate or legitimacy may be what is at issue. And the winning agent may prevail through the rules of the game, or by threats or the offer of rewards. Dahl (1961) tested the thesis of a ruling power elite. An investigation focused on whether, in New Haven, preferences of the hypothetical ruling elite regularly prevail. The research revealed there were no power elite, since power, in this first sense, was distributed pluralistically, with different groups prevailing over different key issues (Dahl 1961). However, such a finding was based on the assumption that evidence of the exercise of power needed to be concrete or observable.

The need to observe concrete or observable behaviours form the basis for the first dimension of power. In the original text, Lukes defines power as follows: "Party A exercises power over Party B when Party A affects Party B in a manner contrary to Party B's interests" (Lukes, 1974, p. 12). In such a situation, power consists of winning and prevailing over another. The first dimension of power is the most public of the three. Lukes associates the first dimension of power with pluralist theory (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970, 1975). He notes that an overemphasis on power's first dimension led pluralists to an overly complacent view of the wide distribution of power in the United States and its democratic life (Lukes, 1974, pp. 38-9). Further pluralists assume that interest is to be understood as policy preferences. Therefore a conflict of interest is the equivalent to a conflict of preferences. They are opposed to any suggestion that "interests might be unarticulated or unobservable, and above all, to the idea that people might actually be mistaken about, or unaware of, their own interests" (Lukes, 2005, p. 19).

The Two-dimensional View

Criticism existed of the need, expressed in the first dimension, for concrete or observable behaviour over key issues to exist (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). A need exists for overt conflict between the interests of the parties: over observable preferences to be identified. However, a revised view looked at how the powerful can suppress or thwart challenges to their interests by agenda control. As a result, behaviours can occur which deny the grievances of marginal or excluded groups a hearing. The mechanisms can include censorship and manipulation of procedures, thereby preventing potential demands from becoming actual ones. Lukes noted power can both create and reinforce barriers “to the public airing of policy conflict, permitting public consideration of only those issues which are innocuous to A” (Lukes, 2005, p. 20).

The second dimension of power relaxes the requirement that the conflict between parties’ interests be manifested in overt behaviour: power must still involve conflict, but the conflict can be covert: involving that between dominant interests and the grievances of the excluded or marginalized that have thus failed to be publicly heard. In the face of acquiescence, with no observable conflict between parties, there will on this view, be no way to determine empirically whether their interests are opposed and thus whether consensus is genuine or has been attained through power. Lukes (2005) describes this more elusive or subtler dimension of power as a covert power. Control over what is decided and ignoring or deflecting existing grievances, including control agendas, has been called the mobilisation of biases. “Issue framing, investment of effort to create or protect procedures for governing, and strategic alliances provide building blocks from which durable political arrangements are constructed” (Bachrach & Baratz, 1980, p. 105). A clear focus therefore is also needed on non-decision making as well as decision making. Non-decision making is designed to avoid the emergence of values and interests contrary to those of the decision-maker. In the community an issue can be suffocated, kept covert, or prevented from gaining access to the relevant decision-making arena.

An example of non-decision making within an educational context (Bonal, 2012) clarifies the above points and shows the relevance of Lukes’ theories to education. This particular study concerns educational policy on segregation of migrant students in Catalonia. Education policy had deliberately not improved. The research illustrated how the absence of an explicit school desegregation policy was an example of the politics of non-decision making. It was found that explicit ideologies can prevent specific choices from being

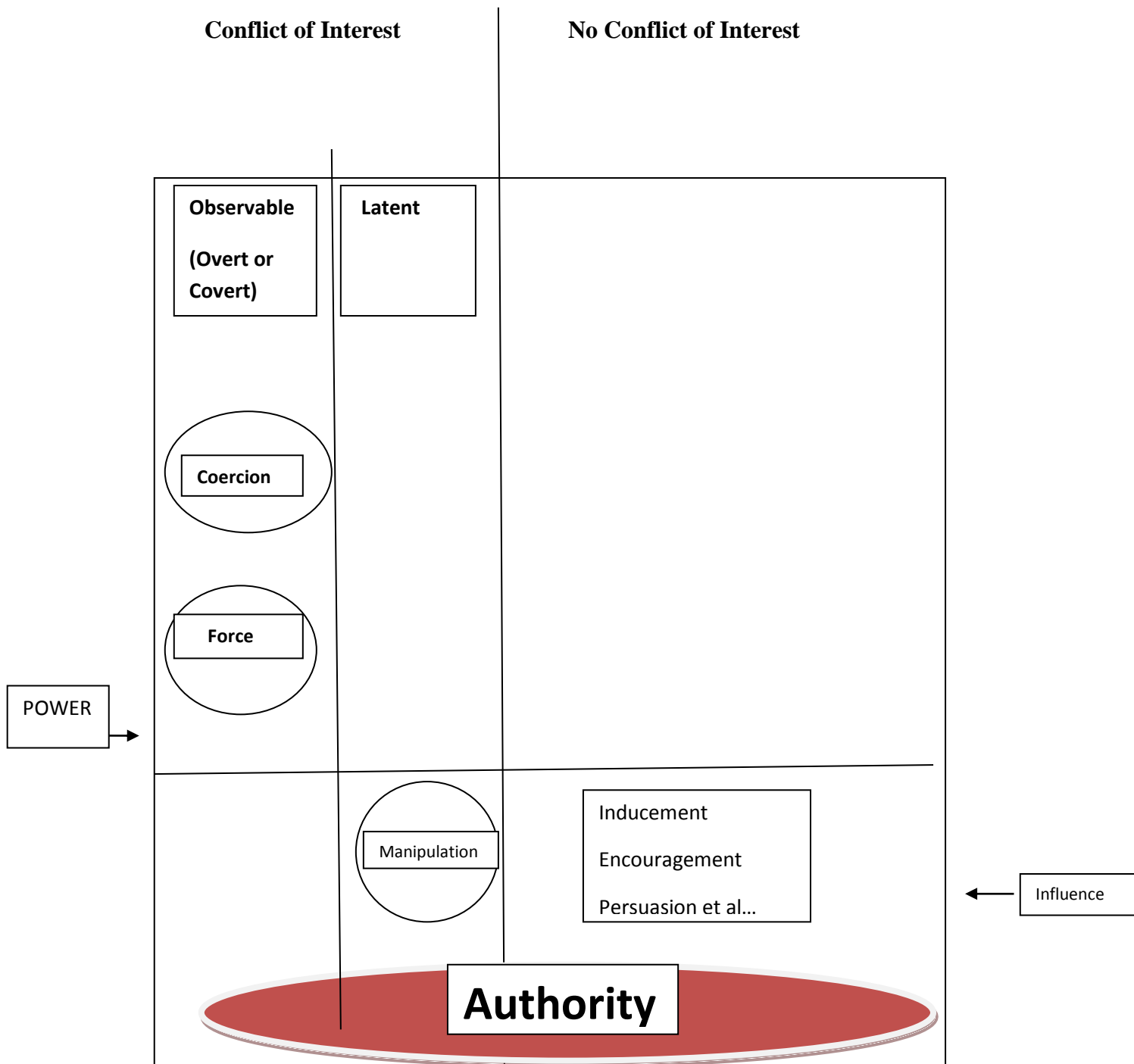
adopted. Further, “institutional processes and traditions can act as a powerful obstacles to avoid specific actions, as can potential opportunity-costs involved in certain decisions” (McCalla-Chen, 2000, p. 35). The politics of non-decision making was therefore confirmed as the covert face of power (Bonai, 2012, p. 405). By mobilising bias some individuals and groups have the capacity to avoid the emergence of power conflicts and confine policy making to specific values, rituals and procedures.

A conceptual map (see Figure 2.1) of power and cognate concepts broadly follows Bachrach and Baratz’s (1970) typology. The map is contestable, although it is meant to analyse and situate the concept of power which underlines the three-dimensional views of power (Lukes, 2005). In this scheme power may or may not be a form of influence, and a contingency exists on whether sanctions are involved. Further influence and authority may or may not be a form of power and is dependent on whether a conflict of interests is involved.

A question was posed by Lukes: is rational persuasion a form of power and influence? (2005, p. 35). Lukes provides both a positive and negative response. A positive response because it is a form of significant affecting: A gets (causes) B to do or think what he would not otherwise do or think. A negative response was provided, because B autonomously accepts A’s reasons, so that one is inclined to say that it is not A, but A’s reasons, or B’s acceptance of them, that is responsible for B’s change of course. A further question exists as to whether power can be exercised by A over B in B’s real interests. A conflict exists between the preferences of A and B, but that A’s preferences are in B’s real interests. Two responses are provided. First, A might exercise ‘short term power’ over B (with an observable conflict of subjective interest), but that if and when B recognises his real interest, the power relation: it is self-annihilating. Secondly all or most forms of attempted or successful control by A over, B, when B objects or resists, constitute a violation of B’s autonomy: that B has a real interest in his own autonomy; so that such an exercise of power cannot be in B’s real interests. In sum the first response is open to misuse by providing a paternal licence for tyranny; the second response furnishes an anarchist defence against it thereby collapsing all or most cases of influence into power. Lukes attracted to first response “provided risks mitigated by insisting on empirical basis for identifying real-interests” (Lukes, 2005, p. 26). The onus is not on A for the identification of real interests but B: exercising choice under conditions of relative autonomy and

independently of A's power, an example being through democratic participation (see Maxcy, 2011, discussed below).

Figure: 2.1 Conflict Mapping



Source: Lukes, 2005, p. 36

In terms of the two-dimensional view of power, Bachrach and Baratz (1980) also provide a follow-up study that examined antipoverty politics in Baltimore. This research also

acknowledged a guiding interest in social justice. The same 'social justice' the case study school pursues. By treating inequality as a central problem, Bachrach and Baratz (1980) asked not only "who gets what and how, but also, who gets left out and how" (Bachrach and Baratz, 1980, p. 105). This employment of the second dimension identified the marginalised within Baltimore. Through examination of agenda setting and non-decision making power could be identified. This broader approach to identifying power provided an insight into the causes of the social phenomenon of poverty. The multiple layers of power can be further refined and honed by applying Lukes' third dimension (Lukes, 1974, 2005).

The Three-dimensional View

The third dimension of power incorporates the previous two, but enables a further insight into the phenomenon (Lukes, 2005). According to this view, power can indeed be at work in ways that are hidden from the view of those subject to it and even of its possessors. The powerful may work to avert conflict by contributing (intentionally or unintentionally) to getting others to want what they want them to want, shaping their perceptions, cognitions and thus preferences. Here power is not just the ability to prevail over others in conflicts of interest: it also encompasses being able to secure their dependence, deference, allegiance or compliance, even without needing to act and in the absence of conflict. The power to frame issues and thus help shape beliefs can be the power to mislead, misleading people to support leaders and follow policies that work against their interests.

By shaping desires and beliefs, conflict and grievances aversion can be realised. In this way, a party can predetermine outcomes in a manner detrimental to other parties' interests. Lukes identifies this suppression of conflict as a form of non-decision making and argues it is a widespread phenomenon that pluralists ignore. The distinctive contribution of Lukes' first edition (1974) was to elucidate the third 'supreme exercise' of power. It is suggested that there are many ways perceptions and beliefs are continually shaped or influenced through the process of socialisation and the mass media, and it is argued that the third dimension of power may be the most insidious, subtle and pervasive.

The third dimension of power is the least observable by social actors; hence, people may be persuaded to want things that do not benefit them. Lukes argues that power can be exposed by establishing Party B's real interests. The gap between one's real interests and his or her distorted perception of those interests illuminates the unseen influence of power.

An example into how this task can be approached is provided by Crenson (1971). The research provided an empirical study into why many cities and towns in the US failed to make a political issue out of their air-pollution problems. Crenson found there are “politically imposed limitations upon the scope of decision-making, such that decision-making activity is channelled and directed by the process of non-decision making” (Crenson, 1971, p. 178). A further application relates to town-planning (Rifkin & Pridmore, 2001). As Crenson memorably expressed it: “there is more to local politics than meets the eye” (Crenson, 1971). An education application from a secondary school context sought parental perspectives on environmental education. Parents, through a Crenson inspired empirical study, showed a commitment to environmental education while remaining acutely aware of the difficulties existing from urban poverty (Kahn & Friedman, 1998). These gaps or deficits provide a point for systematic investigation into the question of how one has been misled about his or her real interests. This can become the basis of a viable empirical research programme (McKay, 2001; Culley & Hughey, 2008).

Lukes not only distinguishes three distinct exercises of power but illustrates a means of tracing its subtlest expressions: We need to attend to those aspects of power that are least accessible to observation ... power is at its most effective when least observable. (Lukes, 1974, p. 64)

However, in the new edition, Lukes (2005) acknowledges an oversimplification of the study of power in his initial work. He notes, for example, that “it operates with a reductive and simplistic picture of power relations” (Lukes, 2005, pp. 109-10). In particular, he relies on the reductive assumption that exists in all power relations: Party A in some way affects Party B (Lukes, 2005, p. 30). There is also an oversimplification of real interest. Lukes (2005) maintains that these flaws are not fatal and seeks to update the original text.

Table 2.2, summarises the three views of power. The three-dimensional view provides the most interesting innovation to capture “power at its most effective when least observable” (Lukes, 2005, p. 1). The model provides a broad definition of power that therefore captures concepts of power, as advanced by Freire and Foucault (Hallet, 2007). In addition, the ability of the framework to incorporate the concept of entrepreneurial identity is important (DuGay, 2004). An additional key feature that binds together key theorists, with respect to

the third dimension of power, is the shared emphasis on the power of language. In sum, Lukes' (2005) model of power is sufficiently broad enough to incorporate other contributors on power.

2.4 Applications of Lukes' Model of Power

An appreciation of Lukes model of power can be provided by exploring applications. Examples are provided from education perspectives, from within the context of a neo-liberal environment, and community engagement. Such an exploration assists in justifying my decision to employ Lukes model of power in this Ph.D.

Lukes' framework has been applied in the context of neo-liberal educational reform, not dissimilar to EE, in relation to the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy (Maxcy, 2011). The NCLB policy exists in an educational context and presents a neo-liberal response to shrinking public coffers, disenchantment with public instructions, anxiety about individuals, and competitiveness in the global economy (Maxcy, 2011). Lukes' model (2005) was applied to examine performance accountability associated with NCLB. The issue of media attention and rankings were discussed. Lukes' model was identified as closely aligned with Rizvi and Lingard (2010), who issued a caution regarding presumed authority shaping public policies and priorities. "The unsaid, the unspoken, can be the clearest manifestation of hegemonic-power, where common sense goes unchallenged" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 11-12).

Maxcy (2011) asserted Lukes' (2005) first dimension of power was seen as the appropriate category for examples of direct influence. The second dimension was employed when a shift in power was identified. A constriction of policies effectively narrowed the educational agenda (Maxcy, 2011). Other studies found district administrators marginalising teachers, parents, and community members as they dictated school-level practices to meet defined performance goals (Maxcy, 2011). A "hierarchy of public-ness was created which directed attention to certain performance and performers to the exclusion of others with resources flowing accordingly" (Maxcy, 2011, p. 258). In addition, systems were identified constraining decision situations in ways that complemented the direct control. Although bringing this "influence to bear was intentional, the intended consequences as second dimension constraints were more subtle and difficult

to trace” (Maxcy, 2011, p. 259). Employment of the three-dimensional model of power revealed policies exerted influence by shifting decision-making authority, narrowing the education agenda and eliminating the need for, and proper form of, public education reform. An identified close alignment between the NCLB policy and broader neo-liberal critique revealed obstacles to economic growth and societal prosperity.

The case study school exists within a neo-liberal environment but also forms part of a community. Lukes’ model was also applied within a community context in a qualitative study involving power and public participation in a hazardous waste dispute (Culley & Hughey, 2008). The research examined public and community participation over a three year period. Examination of both formal and informal modes of participation included meeting attendance, presentations, public comment, emails, newsletters, phone calls, letter writing, and collective actions such as demonstrations or rallies which generated decision-making power.

The research of Culley and Hughey (2008) also mirrors earlier research provided by Speer and Hughey (1985). The earlier study explicitly employed Lukes’ (1974) model to illustrate how community organisations and individuals could be empowered with an understanding of how power manifests at multiple-levels. The manipulation of interests in Sugar Creek evidenced the cumulative effects of all the three dimensions of social power (Gaventa, 1980; Lukes, 1974). In sum, those most successful at exercising the power characteristics of the first and second dimensions included superior bargaining resources, control of participation, and the nature of debate. The powerful were better positioned to shape the interests of others in such a way that the interest of the dominant parties were maximised.

The application of Lukes was applied in another educational context. Research exploring the power relationships, in terms of gender and education, was undertaken by McKay (2001). The research employed Lukes’ model to capture a link between power and innovation. Neo-liberalism provided the context and a positive correlation was sought between education enrolment rates of girls and GNP per capita (Karl, 1995). Potential issues were found to exist within the third dimension of power. Bias in institutional systems was identified (Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991). Women were often unaware of missed opportunities within institutions (McKay, 2001). The research concluded that pressures raised consciousness and potential issues were acknowledged, at which point Lukes’ third

dimension of power gave way to the second dimension. When the issue of gender pay was identified, the conflict was overt, indicative of the first dimension of power. The decision to implement change, if not postponed or submerged by non-decision making or mobilisation of bias, was a decision placed out in open conflict: the first dimension of power. At this point there was a high level of awareness of the issue. It was found when the implementation of change went through, it would alter the patterns of organisational activities, establishing new routines that over time would become institutionalised and legitimated and become knowledge that stays within the organisation. McKay (2001) provides an example of issues being managed by the powerful between dimensions in an educational context. It shows how management can manage issues, with ease, through the three dimensions of power.

Lukes' model of power has been applied in three situations: two in the context of education and in one community setting. Analysis of educational policy decisions and omissions needs in-depth examination to identify multidimensional power. Not only does this require observing the explicit decisions and the potential decisions that were ruled out, but recognising those cases in which power does not need to be exercised because it is able to rely on the complicity of those who are most disadvantaged. In the words of Lorenzi:

Lukes argues that power can also be exercised by preventing grievances – by shaping perceptions, cognitions, and preferences in such a way as to secure the acceptance of the status-quo since no alternative appears to exist, or because it is seen as natural and unchallengeable, or indeed beneficial. (Lorenzi, 2006, p. 91)

The application of Lukes' model has provided an effective tool for identifying layers of power, and in each case has assisted in providing a greater transparency. The successful previous employment of Lukes' model within distinct educational settings provides a firm basis for application at the Ph.D case study school.

2.5 A Critique of Lukes' Model of Power

Despite the successful application of Lukes' approach to power in a number of situations criticisms still remain. Lukes (1974, 2005) has offered two editions of work on the subject of power with additional works supporting his perspective (Lukes, 2007; Lukes & Hayward, 2008). The latter edition shows how Lukes has developed and changed thinking

on the topic over the past 30 years. Lukes' works provide insight into: individualistic approaches; implicit criticisms of structural approaches; 'power-to' versus 'power over'; different ways of relating power and legitimacy; and the connection between power and the realisation of social interests, considered from a number of alternative perspectives. Both editions of his work address the following question: 'How is willing compliance to domination assured?' He answers this question using a concept of the three dimensions of power. Lukes provides a framework that describes how the powerful secure the compliance, willing or unwilling, of those they dominate.

Lukes (1974) Initial Work – A Critique

Initially Lukes (1974) offered a critical analysis of pluralist and non-decisions theories of power, leading to a suggested three-dimensional view of power. This initial work stressed the exercises of power that did not entail observable conflicts, but rather latent conflicts; a function of collective forces and social arrangements. Specifically, Lukes advanced the self-confessed problematic ideas that such exercises may involve inaction, be unconscious and be wielded by identifiable groups or institutions (Bradshaw, 1976, p. 22). There were difficulties in this initial work around a 'real interests' approach. The approach was both 'empirically applicable' and 'essentially contested' (Bradshaw, 1976).

An additional issue was Lukes' acceptance of the orientation of pluralist and non-decision theorists, and the point of departure in his attempt to supersede them (Bradshaw, 1976). The approach created fundamental disharmony between his individualist illustrative methodology and his collective inferences. An example is Lukes' treatment of 'real interests'. As part of an overall approach he criticises the works of Dahl (1961) and non-decision makers on power (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970) for their behavioural focus. Both these works have an insistence of an observable conflict. In the case of Bachrach and Baratz (1970), observable relates to both implicit and explicit behaviours. Lukes claims power can be exercised in situations of potential or latent conflict: "This potential ...may never in fact be actualised" (Lukes, 1974, p. 24). Further it is claimed, latent conflict depends on the notion of false consciousness, of unconscious interests, since the concept lies in the discrepancy between the interests of the powerful, and the unarticulated real interests of those they exclude from decision making (Lukes, 1974, pp. 24-5). The "identification of those interests ultimately rests on empirically supportive and refutable

hypotheses” (Lukes, 1974, p. 25). Bradshaw (1976) argues the ‘empirical-basis’ for the discovery of real interests is nothing more substantial than a key driver provided by Lukes:

An identification [of real interests] is not up to A [the power subject] but to B [the object], exercising choice under conditions of relative autonomy and, in particular, independently of A’s power – for example through democratic participation. (Lukes, 1974, p. 33)

Lukes argues that such a procedure will lead to a crystallisation of different preferences (perhaps) but not necessarily to the revelation of ‘real interests’. Real interests are not easily empirically identifiable. He agrees with Crenson (1971, p. 181) that pluralism is “no guarantee of political openness or popular sovereignty”. As a result of this agreement it is seen as a nonsense that Lukes should suggest democratic participation constitutes relative autonomy, independent of A’s power, since the whole tenor of his argument is that the reverse can be true. In short, Lukes’ “refutation of pluralism on the theoretical basis of discrepancies between false-consciousness and real interests re-espouses pluralism to ‘empirically ‘demonstrate the divergence” (Bradshaw, 1976, p. 121). This view of opposing theorists is identified by Plaw (2007): “Unfortunately, positivist social scientists tend to ignore these deeper discussions of power’s operation because they are difficult to trace and quantify” (p. 491), even though, as discussed above, it has been done. Indeed, Plaw (2007) advocated for Lukes’ initial and subsequent works. “Lukes illustrated that exercises of power can be identified empirically. Employing a variety of research approaches, from comparative to genealogical, he showed that it is possible in many cases to identify people’s real interests and how their perception of them has been subduedly but systematically distorted” (Plaw, 2007, p. 491).

The second problem is around providing an agreement on what constitutes ‘relative autonomy’. A difficulty exists in B’s hypothetical independence of A’s power as it fails to rule out the likelihood of B’s continued subjection to other sources of power. Even though opposed to A, it may still be inimical to B. The removal of the first power subject from the scene, even where possible, merely compromises the object B’s relative autonomy in the face of other exercisers of power. Bradshaw (1976) cannot envisage a scenario in which an actor is liberated from all structural conditions, and is “hence able to correctly identify what his real interests would be in the best of all possible worlds” (p. 122). Although

Lukes is not suggesting such a scenario, his method of the exclusion of power subjects may create one. These identified problems were named by Lukes (2005) in his revised edition of the work and further explanation was subsequently provided.

The Revised Work – A Critique

Lukes' (2005) revised edition acknowledges that the initial work originally oversimplified the study of power: "it operates with a reductive and simplistic picture of power relations" (pp. 109-10). In particular, it relied on the reductive assumption that in all power relations, A in some ways affects B (p. 30). It also oversimplifies 'real interest'. Lukes maintains, however, that these flaws are not fatal, and seeks to correct and update the initial work. However, identified issues still remain with Lukes' (2005) model of power; these include what are labelled as a limiting approach to power, a lack of understanding of what real or genuine interests are versus non-genuine interests, an inadequate treatment of Foucault's theories and an analysis that reduces the notion of power to that of domination (Morris, 2006). There were also concerns that Lukes' (2005) model does not link structure and agency in all instances of power, nor provide an adequate pathway forward (Morris, 2006).

Hutchings (2005) argues that the second edition provides no new grounds for persuading critics of its plausibility. Lukes' (2005) model is based on the assumption that people's consciousnesses are manipulable. His model focuses on the possibility of distinguishing between genuine and non-genuine interests. Lukes (2005, pp. 124-50) provides a rather tentative exploration of some of the ways in which these distinctions could be underpinned philosophically. In the second edition of his text, he seeks support from Mill and Bourdieu (Lukes, 2005, pp. 138-39, pp. 140-44) with a broad range of empirical illustrations from feminist works (Hutchings, 2005). This new development adds further value to the model of power beyond the original text. However, Lukes (2005, pp. 110-24) acknowledges that his account of power as domination is incapable of a definitive resolution at an empirical level. Furthermore, even though Lukes does engage with the work of Foucault in the revised edition in relation to the account of power as domination, a concern exists that the work of Foucault has not been fully acknowledged or integrated (Hutchings, 2005).

Foucault (1980a) made a distinction between domination and power. This occurred in his

later work, which recognised a distinction between different types of power. Lukes' (2005, pp. 88-99) argument relies on this key distinction. This interpretation of Foucault needs considerable justification. However, Lukes employs *ad hominem* comments about Foucault's (1980a) exaggerated rhetorical style. He asserts that Foucault's work is erroneous because it does not distinguish between power and freedom in a way that Lukes (2005, p. 97) approves. This limitation is also referred to and expanded by Swartz (2007a), who notes that Lukes divides Foucault's thinking on power rather schematically into two phases. The first is his early work on discipline and volume one on sexuality, the second is his subsequent writings from 1978 to his death in 1984, named 'governmentality'. It is argued that power is pervasive throughout all social life and should not be constrained by setting upper limits or boundaries. Power also constitutes 'subjects' themselves. In sum, there is no escape from power. Although this gives power a positive side, the problem, notes Lukes (2005), is that this key idea comes clothed in a 'Nietzschean rhetoric' that seems to deny the possibility of freedom and truth independent of the effects of power. Swartz (2007a, p. 15) argues, "it undermines completely the ideal of a rational, autonomous moral agent". There is no concept that an individual is free from the negative effects of power or that power could be based on a rational consent of its subjects. Lukes (2005) rejects this 'ultra-radical view', believing that it does not make sense. However, hope is found in the second phase of Foucault's work, in which Lukes believes Foucault (1980a) backed away from the earlier claims of the all-pervasive reach of power.

Lukes' (2005) model is also criticised by an assertion that his notion of power is solely one of domination (Morriss, 2006). Lukes' (2005) view is that power necessarily involves affecting others; that is, having power over other people. Morriss (2006) suggests that Lukes' core definition commits an 'exercise fallacy' because the definition of power only exists where power produces actual effects. Morriss argues that power can be possessed without using it; power is better understood as a capacity rather than as an exercise of power. This argument was anticipated by Lukes with respect to the third dimension of power, and referenced to the work of Crenson (1971). Morriss (2006) also argues that power is not limited to cases of one person affecting another but can encompass, for example, control of oneself and of the natural environment. In limiting power to cases in which 'A in some way affects B', Morriss argues that Lukes commits a relational fallacy.

Morriss (2006) observes that power is better understood as a dispositional concept of

‘power-to’, rather than as a relational, exercise concept of ‘power-over’. A reflective Lukes (2005) states ‘power-to and power-over’ are two distinct variants, “where the latter is a subspecies of the former” (pp. 65, 69). Morriss notes that once all the revisions are read back into the original text, Lukes is not writing about power but of domination. The limitation is that Lukes reduces “power-to” to domination, which should always remain analytically distinct from power (Morriss, 2006). Béland (2010) also suggests that Lukes misrepresents the idea of power by focusing exclusively on ‘power-over’ (domination), at the expense of ‘power-to’, which affects outcomes.

For Morriss, power is analytically distinct from domination, as it refers to the capacity to reach specific goals and affect outcomes rather than the ability to shape the behaviour of others in a way that is contrary to their so-called real interests (Morriss, 2006, p. 126). This criticism strikes at the heart of Lukes’ (2005) model of power but is unpersuasive. Lukes’ point that ‘power-over’ is a legitimate sub-species of ‘power-to’ is not disputed. Power as a capacity is sometimes exercised in ways that affect others. Morriss discusses ‘power-over’ as an aspect of ‘power-to’, defining at least one aspect of it as “the extent to which one person is subject to the power of another” (Morriss, 2002, pp. 40-1). Moreover in the revised edition Morriss notes his own relative neglect of ‘power-over’, declaring it “a mistake” (Morriss, 2006, p. xiv). In sum it seems unnecessary to ‘separate [it] altogether’ from the examination of power. Lukes (2005) forcibly argues that in the writing of philosophers, historians and social scientists, power generally has the sense of ‘power-over’, and for good reason: it is the exercise of domination over others that most immediately concerns us in understanding and evaluating our social condition. Indeed, Lukes’ use of power is appropriate provided he acknowledges, which he frequently does, that he is specifically concerned with ‘power as domination’ (Plaw, 2007).

Concern also exists over a lack of named or defined structures as sources of power in Lukes’ (2005) model. Power is associated with agents and their moral and political responsibility for their actions (Bates, 2010). A close linkage of power and moral responsibility can be oversimplified (Plaw, 2007). According to Morriss (2002, p. 39), “a radical critique of a society requires us to evaluate that society”, not distribute praise or blame to people. Hayward (2000) expands on this point when claiming that it is necessary to examine structural factors: “if the aim is not to wag a moralizing finger, but to criticize and inform efforts to change relations of power and domination” (p. 13). Lukes (2005)

responds in practical, moral and evaluative contexts: “there is a need to distinguish between structural arrangements and the power of agents; structures do not have to be identified as sources of power in order to be objects of critique” (p. 68). Hayward (2000) argues there needs to be a definition of power in terms of the capacity of an entity due to its intrinsic nature. In addition, by defining structures in terms of systems of social relations, realists can show fully how power is instantiated in both structure and agency. Such an approach more fully explains the role of both structure and agency in all instances of power, whether in terms of domination, states of relative powerlessness or otherwise. If social action is to be truly transformative, analyses and strategies must unmask generative and objective structures and social relations (Bates, 2010). It was also argued by Hayward (2000) that Lukes’ framework lacks an insight into structure and agency. This difference was acknowledged by Lukes and forms the basis of a joint paper between both Lukes and Hayward (2008). The authors converge on the view that not only moral responsibility, but also political responsibility is relevant to the study of power. They disagreed about how to analyze difficult cases in which some agents are clearly subject to social constraints on freedom, but no powerful actors seem responsible for their constraint.

The passage of time between editions has provided Lukes an opportunity to reflect. Such reflection has created further difficulties. There now exists a realisation that people may have conflicting interests (Shapiro, 2006). Lukes (2005), in the second edition, also abandons his former primarily materialist account of people’s real interests. However, Lukes’ new reductive account potentially creates further problems for his analysis of power (Plaw, 2007). Lukes (2005) does not characterise his own account of real interests as materialist, but he does concede that he gave a mistakenly unitary account in the original text (Lukes, 1974, p. 109). Lukes’ revised position is that social actors “do not have unitary or dual, but multiple and conflicting interests which are of different kinds” (Lukes, 2005, p. 145).

In terms of power’s third dimension, real interests were intended to provide a clear baseline. The difference between real interests and the victims’ misconceived beliefs would allow the operation of power’s third dimension. However, if the victims’ real interests are complex and conflicting, it would be unclear when those interests are manipulated or altered to their disadvantage by third parties. Lukes’ (2005) revised antireductionist approach to interests leaves “the researcher bereft of any base-line by

reference” as to whether the third dimension of power is operative (Shapiro, 2006).

Lukes acknowledges the problem and offers the following answer: “these difficulties become less serious if one simply takes what count as ‘real interests’ to be a function of one’s explanatory purpose, framework and methods, which in turn have to be justified” (Lukes, 2005, p. 148). However, Shapiro (2006) notes once the antireductionist move has been made, the question of which explanation to advance is ‘always up for grabs’. Once a researcher acknowledges a multiplicity of conflicting interests, it is possible to identify that when individuals opt for suboptimal outcomes in one dimension of their real interests, they are doing so because they value something else more. Shapiro (2006) suggests that it is therefore doubtful whether real interests can reveal the third dimension of power. Shapiro notes that “once we acknowledge that domination can occur along multiple metrics of real interest, we have to take seriously the possibility that reducing domination on one such dimension will increase it on another” (Shapiro, 2006, p. 25). Such variability occurs in a context-dependent environment.

Lukes (2005) does not specifically address this issue, but his work suggests at least two partial answers. The first answer is that some interests are provided more importance than others. Where the weightiest interests are distorted, it is plausible to hypothesise that the third dimension of power is involved. In particular, Lukes (2005) argues that real interests can be understood as a way of identifying basic or central capabilities that existing arrangements preclude. He refers to the basic capabilities approach to development, which includes bodily health, imagination and practical reason (Lukes, 2005). In Lukes’ (2005) adaptation, the development of core capabilities represents people’s presumptive best interest.

Lukes’ (2005) second response to the problem of multiple conflicting interests is that people’s real interests are self-evident through common sense. This recognition can be verified by comparing a group with apparently distorted perception of its basic interests with other groups in analogous circumstances, and by reconstructing the manner in which the deviant group’s beliefs have been influenced away from the common sense norm. A cited example is the case of Crenson’s steelworkers in Gary, Indiana (Crenson, 1971). It is intuitively obvious that they have a compelling interest in not subjecting themselves and their families to dangerous air-pollution. However, it is possible the steelworkers had other

compelling interests that competed with their interest in clean air. Lukes (2005, pp. 48, 148) mentions a possible conflict with their interest in continued employment. If the conflict were shown to be real, then the workers' reluctance to force the air-pollution issue would be explicable. However, if the reduction of air-pollution did not threaten their jobs or other essential interests, then there would be *prima facie* reason to think their unresponsiveness a product of the third dimension of power. Empirical evidence would still be required to show how the workers' preferences had been manipulated. Crenson (1971) noted that tracing subtle manipulation is difficult. Despite this difficulty a persuasive case can be made through integration of comparative historical and sociological evidence (Plaw, 2007). Nevertheless, the issue of conflicting interests and how they can be accurately identified remains unresolved within Lukes' (2005) model of power.

There are further potential questions arising from Lukes' work. An emphasis exists on empirical research, and Lukes (2005) sees his work as generating more. However, no new model or framework for empirical studies is offered. Lukes (2005) offers no methodological suggestions to follow in terms of a conceptual framework for analysing an empirical object of power (Swartz, 2007a). Yet, as discussed above, a number of studies have been successfully undertaken using Lukes' framework at least to the satisfaction of journal review processes, if not some of Lukes' harshest critics. In addition, there are no proposed mechanisms of institutionalisation to reduce the effects of domination. When talking of the injustice of powerlessness and any attendant inequalities, Lukes (2005) argues that there are always people who are in a position to act. He states that the powerful will include those who contribute to and who are in a position to reduce or remedy others' powerlessness. Structural limits of power are encountered where this is not feasible. Bates (2010) for example, suggests Lukes fails to fully recognise the role that structures play in relations of domination and/or states of powerlessness, and tends to focus on the powerful as the agents of change.

Criticisms of Lukes' (2005) model of power exist and have been laid out here. They include issues surrounding the identification of real interests and genuine versus non-genuine interests. There are doubts raised over the interpretation of, and approach to, the work of Foucault. Also identified is the issue of whether power is actually the subject of Lukes' (2005) framework or whether the subject is merely domination. Finally, the framework is relatively silent on empirical research or strategies to reduce the effects of

domination. Nevertheless, Lukes (2005) and Lukes and Hayward (2008) have responded to some of these criticisms, while the application of the model in a number of different contexts do suggest that its framework continues to have substantial utility.

2.6 The Foucauldian Approach to Power: Encompassed within Lukes' Model

One of the significant advantages of using Lukes' (2005) framework is its capacity to incorporate a range of perspectives on the concept and exercise of power. Therefore, this section examines the way that Lukes' approach can also encompass the influential works of Foucault. Central to Foucault's ideas is that there is a proximate connection between power and knowledge. This connection is reflected in applied social scientific disciplines.

Foucault is of the view that the effectiveness of this connection largely derives from the shaping impact in people's expert knowledge claims. Lukes notes that Foucault's aim was to produce a 'micro-physics of power'. This idea or "thinking is on capillary forms of existence rather than the mechanisms of power" (Lukes, 2005, p. 89). The focus is the "point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 39).

The various forms of domination and subordination, and the asymmetrical balance of forces operate whenever and wherever social relations exist. These power relationships, like social relations, display no simple pattern. Foucault observed that social life is to be thought of as occurring not within a single overarching society but instead across a multiplicity of fields of forces that are sometimes connected and sometimes not. His special focus is always upon the way these power relations are organised, the forms they take and the techniques they depend upon, rather than upon groups and individuals who dominate or are dominated as a consequence (Lukes, 2005). Thus, Foucault is concerned with the structural relationships, institutions, strategies and techniques, rather than with actual politics and politicians.

Lukes rejected Foucault's perspective, choosing to focus on the issue of how the powerful secure the compliance of those they dominate. Foucault's answer to this question would be to conceive power broadly, seeking to uncover its least evident and least perceptible forms.

“Power is tolerable only on the condition that it masks a substantial part of itself and hides its mechanisms” (Foucault, 1980c, p. 86), a position that is extremely sympathetic to Lukes’ (2005) third dimension of power. There is similar thinking between Lukes and Foucault that if power is to be effective, those subject to it must be rendered susceptible to its effects. Repression is negative, as it prohibits constraints on setting limits to what agents do and might desire. Conversely, production is positive power; Foucault (1980b) argues that it “traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, provide discourse” (p. 119). Specifically, it produces subjects and forgives their character, normalising them and making them capable of and willing to adhere to norms of sanity, health, sexuality and other forms of propriety. Foucault states that these norms mould the soul and are inscribed upon the body. They are maintained by policing the boundary between the normal and the abnormal and by continuous and systematic surveillance that is both inter- and intra-subjective. An issue is Foucault’s use of rhetoric within which power excludes both freedom and truth. Power “is coextensive with the social-body; there are no spaces for primal liberty between the meshes of its network” (Foucault, 1980b, p. 142). According to Foucault there can be “no liberation from power, either within a given context or across contexts; and there is no way of judging between ways of life since each imposes its own” (Foucault, 1980b, p. 92).

Foucault also sees the power of some over others as domination. This involves exploiting the ways in which the consciousness is shaped in those others, its “subjects”. Through the mechanisms of discipline and punishment, they are strained and confined, and moulded into conformity, into docile bodies. Garland (1997) noted that what is meant by the term ‘power’ here is the idea of controlling or rather ‘producing’ behaviour, whether directly through the disciplinary training of offenders or, more indirectly, by way of deterrent, threat and example to the general population. Thus, punishment is thought of as a means of control that administers the bodies of individuals and, through them, the body politic (Foucault, 1980b).

Ideally, such power is inactive to induce inmates of a state of permanent and conscious visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. “The perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it” (Foucault, 1978, p. 201). According to Lukes (2005), Foucault generalises

into an image of the carceral or undisciplined society, for example, he asks: “surprisingly that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals which all resemble prisons?” (Foucault, 1978, p. 228). This suggests one-sided undirected control. Lukes (2005) therefore suggests that Foucault was not investigating actual disciplinary practices but rather their design.

On a micro-level, the issue of agency of the subject remains. Do not human agents have two-way powers? Foucault (1980c) provides a general response: “Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relations to power”. Allen (1999) states that this is merely to position the conceptual necessity of resistance as itself internal to and so generated by power:

[Foucault] never offers a detailed account of resistance as an empirical phenomenon in any of his genealogical analyses. The only social actors in these works are dominating agents: there is no discussion of the strategies employed by madmen, delinquents, school-children, perverts or ‘hysterical’ women to modify or contest the disciplinary or bio-power exercised over them. (Allen, 1999, p. 54)

As Lukes (2005) nevertheless notes, Foucault’s (1982) subsequent writings on the theme of ‘governmentality’ strike a more voluntaristic note. Power is said to be exercised over free subjects: “this means individual or collective subjects are faced with a field of possibilities; in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realised” (Lukes, 2005, p. 221).

In terms of governmentality, Foucault reveals he is aiming at totality of practices, by which “one can constitute, define, organise, and instrumentalize the strategies which individuals in their liberty can have regard to each other” (Foucault, 1987, p. 19). This is difficult to reconcile with the Foucauldian idea of power constituting the subject. Foucault clarifies this by stating: the subject constitutes himself in active fashion, by practices of self. These practices are not something the individual invents himself but “patterns that he finds in the culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social-group” (Foucault, 1987, p. 11). It is suggested by Lukes (2005) that “this ultra-radicalism of Foucault’s view of power dissolves” (p. 97). Individuals are socialised. They are oriented to roles and practices that are culturally and socially given; they internalise these and may experience them as freely chosen. Further, their freedom may be,

as Durkheim stated, “the fruit of regulation, the outcome of disciplines and controls” (as quoted in Lukes, 2005, p. 97).

An applied example of a Foucault-inspired approach in the context of secondary education is provided by Hayward (2000). I am exploring this research as it involves power in a secondary school environment. Although aligned to Foucault, through examination, it provides an understanding with respect to the application of Lukes’ model of power. Her research is in the context of securing voluntary compliance. She presents a case for defacing power. She argues against thinking of power as implying an account of freedom in which “action is independently chosen and/or authentic”, instead defining it as “a network of boundaries that delimit, for all, the field of what is socially possible” (Hayward, 2000, pp. 3-4). The research involves a comparison between two schools. Her study centres on “patterned asymmetries in the way institutions and practices shape pedagogic possibility” (Hayward, 2000, p. 56). One of the subject schools is North End Community College, which serves a large, relatively poor, black urban neighbourhood. The school emphasises discipline and obedience to authority. Hayward (2000) notes that pupils are monitored, barraged with a series of reprimands, punished for rule violations that range from the routine and trivial to the potentially serious. Teachers focus on inculcating ‘survival skills’, avoiding the dangers, and lures of ‘the street’. In contrast, Fair View, the other school in the study, serves a white, upper middle class suburban community of upper-level managers and professionals. This school shares many of the characteristics of the case study school in this Ph.D. There exists a socially exclusive environment, teachers engage in what might appear to be empowering the children of those who by virtue of their social position have power in contemporary American Society. Hayward (2000) states these pupils have “an active, at times almost confrontational engagement’ with authority. Students are enabled to “participate in rule-making”; they “direct their own conduct and with insistent care” and “mould their own characters” (Hayward, 2000, pp. 117, 116, 134).

Hayward (2000) shows North End, with external constraints, leads to teachers favouring tough, authoritarian practices. Such practices are deemed locally enabling since trust in and obedience to authority and rule-following provide short-term protection against harm from the street. At Fair View the effect is to reproduce exclusionary social and racial stereotypes and an unquestioning view of a “sanctified and de-politicized learning process”. Hayward (2000) denies that Fair View’s teachers are powerful and that their pedagogy is

empowering. She argues that power is not distributed among agents, it operates impersonally by shaping “the field of the possible” (Hayward, 2000, p. 118). Teachers and pupils are equally constrained by such (de-faced) power, with circumscribed possibilities and pedagogic options. It is reported that norms can be both constraining and liberating. Hayward’s account of norms is constraining at Fair View but they are norms that encourage pupils to criticise rules and confront authority. Lukes argues that “focusing only on the impersonal constraints on teachers and pupils alike renders her blind to or better silent about the multiple freedoms their powerful social-position afford them” (Lukes, 2005, p. 105).

Hayward’s (2000) research is problematic, with a linkage drawn between her ethnography to the version of the ‘ultraradical’ Foucauldian view. The concern exists of powers denying the very possibility of distinguishing “between free action and action shaped by the action of others” (Hayward, 2000, p. 15). Lukes (2005) refers to the acknowledgement of a deficit with this model. He notes it identifies itself as a product of power relations, that fields of action are necessarily bound. An example was provided, through the processes of acculturation and identity formation. Free actions of each participant need to be assumed:

The ways people act, how they conduct themselves, think, feel, perceive, reason, what people value, how they define themselves in relation to communities to which they experience themselves as belonging are in significant part [sic] the effect of social-action. To define as ‘free’ a given set of wants, social-needs, capacities, beliefs, dispositions, or behaviours is to exclude from analysis a priori a host of ways in which human freedom is shaped. (Hayward, 2000, p. 30)

These quotations express hesitation (“in part”, “in significant part”) in denouncing the ultraradical view that power constitutes the free subject. None of the accompanying ethnography requires or justifies it and in the end, Foucault wisely retreated from it (Lukes, 2005). Thus, Foucault’s reduced concept of power can clearly be embraced within the third dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power.

2.7 Application of the Foucauldian Approach to the Third Dimension of Power

The adoption of Foucault’s approach to ‘reduced power’ within the third dimension of

Lukes' model is significant as it demonstrates the capacities of Lukes' model to understand power in its different forms, and unite some of the most significant theoretical positions on power. I am endeavouring to show that such a fusion of theorists can occur in a neo-liberal context, and provide for a shared understanding of enterprise at the case study school in this Ph.D.

Secondary schools, which face competition for students, are focused on performance, as evidenced by Ball et al. (2012). Schools are facing pressures to deliver English and achieve enhanced General Certificate of Secondary Education performance. The research explored ways in which pressures were applied. The tactics focus on particular students, with the effect of "rationing" education in the schools. Foucault's analysis, from *Discipline and Punish* (1978), was deployed to examine these tactics and to relate them to more general changes in the regime of techniques and "play of dominations" operating in schools. The standard course of education policy has been complex: "it interconnects individual student outcomes to national economic competitiveness and to issues of social-inclusion (so called) and individual opportunity" (Ball et al., 2012, p. 513). EE, within the New Zealand context, is driven by a similar rationale. The expedient results are the delivery of improved systematic and institutional performances and the achievement of examination benchmarks by individual schools. The schools in the research were part of a broader 'audit culture' embedded in the public service. Certainly constant ranking and examination of schools and students also occurs in the New Zealand context. The results of school ERO inspections are published in the media, via league tables, along with student academic performance ratings. Further, there exists constant media presence which focuses on underachieving and failing schools (The Press, 12/03/2003; 05/06/2005). As described by Foucault "these specific, rather mundane, techniques of government, give rise to a general method of discipline, producing a general and essential transformation" (Ball et al., 2012, p. 154). This is a method of ongoing transformation that is applied to education, health, policing, and almost all other fields of public service (Ball et al., 2012). This approach is based upon 'deliverology', a science of delivery, which is a response to the 'productivity challenge' set by the public sector (DuGay, 2004). Research indicated that the relationships, techniques and expectations of delivery work on and through teachers, heads of department, senior leadership teams, parents and students was to 'focus' them on an overriding institutional priority (GCES results). 'Focus' rendered the enactment of the standards agenda into a set of more or less sophisticated technologies and techniques, "in which an individual has to

be trained or corrected, classified, normalised” (Foucault, 1979, p. 191). Teaching and learning were ‘adapted’ to the processes of ‘output’. Nonetheless, to an extent, the experience of pressure and the extent of focus will ebb and flow across the school year. The key point is that “disciplinary punishment is, in the main, isomorphic with the obligation itself: it is not so much the vengeance of an outraged law as its repetition, its reduplicated insistence” (Foucault 1979, p. 180). Repetition is therefore a method of disciplining and its effect is to achieve intended outcomes, not punishment or deterrence for its own sake (Ball et al., 2012).

Motivational insights derived from research also provide learning for this research on EE. There are programmes of motivational support, and incentives and sanctions which are brought into play for those students who are targets of interest (Ball et al., 2012). As Foucault states “the mechanics of training work together: with techniques of expiation or repentance” (1979, p. 180). This is also “a micro-economy of privileges and impositions” based on a “continuous calculation of plus and minus points” (Foucault 1979, pp. 180-1). The targeted students are made to feel, very directly and individually, their worth to the school. Further, as the consequences of failure, for themselves and for the school, they are selected out for special attention. They are also monitored, subject to interventions, and expected to perform at predicted levels or above. The students are under pressure. None of which seems to sit “too exactly with the other responsibilities of schools to ensure students” wellbeing (Ball et al., 2012, p. 522). These patterns of systematic neglect are based on and perpetuate an internal economy of student worth, a literal economy which values individual students differently and rations educational opportunities accordingly. Foucault suggests that the distribution of students in a hierarchy is also a form of punishment and reward (1979, p. 181). There is an alignment with the views of Freire (1970/1973) (see later).

All of practice becomes part of the normal life of a school; it becomes ingrained in routines, patterns of work, assumptions and perspectives. Indeed it is “impossible to overestimate the significance of this in the life of a school; a complex nexus exists of surveillance, monitoring, tracking, coordinating, reporting, recording, targeting, motivating” (Ball et al., 2012, p. 525). These complex behaviours are aligned to the first dimension of power but are also indicators and drivers to a third dimension being operative.

Research applications of Foucault exist within an educational context (Klaf et al., 2010). Contemporary education policies reflect a neo-liberal agenda (Peck, 2004; Hursh 2008). Associated education reforms are predicated on producing an educated and skilled workforce in the “absence of a state sponsored safety net as government seeks to distance itself financially from the provision of education” (Klaf et al., 2010, p. 194).

The United States adheres to free market principles. As a result public schools find themselves in a neo-liberal straightjacket (Klaf et al., 2010). Foucault was applied to the NCLB policy (Klaf et al., 2010). The NCLB policy involves mandatory testing of all students in both numeracy and literacy skills. Although neo-liberal regimes take a hands off approach, intervention in education was justified so as to ensure future economic prosperity.

The ultimate purpose of NCLB educational reform was to bring about change by controlling schools and the communities they serve through regularising techniques of power including surveillance, examination, and statistics. Such behaviours indicate an alignment with government established norms (Foucault, 1978, 2003). The mechanisms utilised to deal with underperforming public schools and monitor ‘how they are doing’ are techniques of governance. The Foucauldian notion of ‘bio-power’ relates to regulation of persons through an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies, and the control of populations (Foucault, 2003). Bio-power and techniques of governance are powerful analytical tools for bringing forth insights into the implications of reform in urban contexts. A lens is provided to examine the different levels of power which derive from policy application. Social policy is one of the main mechanisms of the state for harnessing and circulating power. It is a means “to ensure a productive labour force, regulate unproductive institutions, and sanitize/order space” (Hewitt, 1991, p. 230). The concept of bio-power lends itself to understanding educational reform policy and the techniques that are deployed to govern individuals and schools so that their behaviours and performance align with the prevailing and ‘taken for granted’ neo-liberal rationality (Lemke, 2001). NCLB policy forms the basis of bio-power; it was a top down federal intervention that was intended to gauge how well teachers teach, how well students learn, and the overall quality of public schools. Schools were governed by ‘throwing a web of visibility’ over conduct (Rose, 1999) and required to confirm to what

Larner (2000) termed ‘market governance’ that normalizes behaviour and actions (Klaf et al., 2010).

New government policy is an explicit manifestation of power. Power is associated with the production of knowledge through observation, measurement and statistics. Bio-power has to quantify, measure, appraise and create rank-ordering (Foucault, 1978, p. 144). It is a normalising power because policy promotes and organises knowledge, norms and practices to regulate behaviour. Bio-power establishes a “subtle rational mechanism” (Foucault, 2003a, p. 244). Techniques include surveillance, controls, ordering of space, examination and micro-power concerned with the body (Foucault, 2003a). The NCLB accountability scheme utilises a number of mechanisms including mandatory testing, establishment and construction of school performance norms and benchmarks. These techniques, as Foucault’s conceptualisation of power entails, are productive because they produce forms of knowledge and discourse about schools and their performance (Foucault, 1980a, p. 119). In the current research a similar neo-liberal policy promoting EE prevails. Clear benefits existed for the adoption of EE, and reporting mechanisms exist to monitor and expose school performance. The media were also proactive in seeking to highlight the extremes of school performance.

Another example of the imposition of a neo-liberal government policy on a case study school is provided by Schee (2009). The research examines a social health policy, which encouraged student consumption of fruit and vegetables to avoid obesity. The study analysed interviews with school leaders in their role of creating educational policies that encouraged students and families to make health a priority. The work employed Foucault, specifically applying his writings on the governance of society and self. It was argued that in an era of curricular accountability, where everything from reading to math scores to body fat are events to be assembled, scrutinized and standardised, the health conscious school plays an ever-important role in community and the nation (Schee, 2009).

Foucault (1978, 1979, 2003b) claimed that in contemporary societies, power operates through discrete means of control and subjugation. In its modern form power did not always present itself as aggressive, violent or overtly repressive, but working through expert knowledge and truth, claims to fashion a normative way of acting, being or thinking (Foucault, 1979). Governmentality is emblematic of what Rose and Miller (1992) refer to as the “problematic of government” or as Foucault describes as the “art of government”

(2003a). That is, governance strategies are no longer involved in a “suffocating embrace” but are involved in ensuring the protection of resources (broadly conceived) beyond the scope of direct intervention. The approach combines a levying of freedom, wielding particular knowledge, and truths about the ways individuals should conduct their lives. A very clear analogy exists when compared to the second dimension of Lukes’ model of power. By now having issues on the agenda and allowing the free market and individual responsibility to prevail, a true embrace of freedom is achieved. In terms of Foucault’s perspective, lives are lived for the betterment of self and society that the social body are capable of being governed (Ball, 1990; Foucault, 2003b). The presence of EE at the case study school as an extra-curricular activity symbolises freedom to associate and the delivery of very specific and honed knowledge.

Good communication practice by a school, including the case study school, is essential for success. In Schee (2009), communication issues arose as to how many parents were actually informed of a health initiative. Foucault (1991) noted that relations of communication such as the relationships between parents and teachers are not saturated in systems of power. Indeed, power is not seen as a coercive force wielded by one group against another, but acts to structure the field of possibilities for others through “modifying the field of information between partners” (Foucault, 2003b, p. 136). Information or knowledge can be modified by ensuring that certain individuals in the relationship are not informed about events, situations or phenomena. Essentially, this tactic ensured that relatively few contest the intuitive. This technique once is not dissimilar in nature to the second dimension of Lukes’ model of power. There is also another power dynamic present. MacLure (2003) writes that communication patterns between parents and teachers are “asymmetrical in terms of [their] organisation and structure” (MacLure, 2003, p. 50), and found that many parents do not often feel as though they can confront a teacher given their lack of institutional knowledge and expertise. Teachers can therefore, inadvertently or consciously, levy their professional status or authority to produce particular kinds of subjects (students), knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1991).

Foucault’s insights offer an integrating way to understand the social dimensions of power and knowledge working on the practice of everyday life. These insights are consistent with the second and third dimensions of Lukes’ (2005) model of power. Critical examination is also important (Foucault, 1983, pp. 231-2) and is one of the tenants of Freire (Miller & Hafner, 2008) (see below). Foucault’s interest in theorising about the mundane and taken-

for-grantedness of the social world makes his work theoretically congruent and particularly relevant for examining the ways in which school health policies are increasingly uncritically adopted on the claims of an obesity crisis (Schee, 2009, p. 571). The adoption of EE policies on the basis of claims for national economic performance is not dissimilar to a crisis of obesity.

2.8 Choosing Lukes' Model of Power: The Benefits

Foucault's views find a home within the third dimension of Lukes' model of power. An alignment exists with Lukes' second dimension of power with respect to freedom and the promotion of individual responsibility. No agenda or intervention is necessary which fits within the ambit of the second dimension. The hierarchal environment and culture present at the case study school resonate with the third dimension of power. Communication patterns between parents, teachers and students are asymmetrical in terms of [their] organisation and structure. Parents and students lack institutional, education content knowledge and expertise. As a result teachers and schools directly and indirectly levy their professional status or authority to produce subjects (students) or knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1991). An embrace of the views of Freire can also be combined with these theorists by providing a multiple lens of leadership, learning, language and democratic engagement.

Paulo Freire believed that the teacher's position as co-learner fosters student ownership and social action (Morriss, 2006, p. 60). The rhetoric and theory of social enterprise has an alignment to the ideals expressed by Freire. He states that an educator is a coordinator (name given to a teacher of enterprise), and to be a good coordinator, it is necessary to have faith in people, to be creative, and believe in the possibility of change (1987). Freire (1973) wrote that "to be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world" (p. 3). If people adapt to the world, accommodating themselves to situations, they become passive; unable to change anything. If they integrate and have relationships with the world, they become dynamic and will be able to change things, creating culture. By developing a critical attitude, people can become more integrated into local communities and society. According to Freire, students should experience this process in education by experiencing art, expressing ideas through their cultural arts, integrating subjects,

integrating experiences into one, developing critical consciousness and encouraging dialogue. This requires “a new pedagogy attitude and approach” (Morris, 2008, p. 62).

The application of Freire’s works (1970, 1986, 1987) provides an in-depth analysis of the language of enterprise. Such an analysis will assist in evaluating the democratic treatment of non-participating teachers and students. This analysis will extend out to the approach of the SMT who were searching for a programme to bolster the school’s profile. The presence of rewards, incentives and disincentives will indicate levels of enterprise inclusiveness at the case study school. The existence of these features is material to Freire and adds value to the combination of Lukes’ and Foucault’s approaches (see Table 2.2). Language is also material to both theorists as is the existence of democratic processes. Another dimension Freire adds is applied research within the context of educational delivery.

2.9 The linkage between Freire and Lukes

Lukes’ third dimension of power is broad enough to embrace the work of Freire, who focuses on power and education. His work on partnerships, conscientisation and critical thinking also fits comfortably within Lukes’ third dimension of power (2005). A Freirean analysis will assist in ascertaining whether school enterprise partnerships are based on genuine collaboration. This insight is relevant because the case study school has developed social enterprise or community partnerships under the auspices of EE.

A Freire framework assists this research in determining if EE is promoting genuine social change within the community (Choules, 2007). This adds value to Lukes’ model of power as it looks beyond the institution of interest, being the case study school, to its relationships with the community. Exploration of this dynamic provides insight into the genuine or authentic relationships beyond the school gate. Social change education, whether labelled popular education or critical pedagogy, is generally used in instructional methodology (Campbell, 2006). In Western countries, critical pedagogy has a well-deserved social justice vision and sociological critique. The focus is capitalism and ways the education systems perpetuate the inequalities that are present in society (Kincheloe, 1995). The key understandings or values on which popular education is based include the following: human beings are meant to be free, work collectively and seek justice; human beings have agency and are capable of transforming the world; power and its oppressive use are located within the ruling class; and opposition is perpetuated by economic and cultural structures

and the ideologies supporting them.

2.10 Leadership

A review of the SMT at the case study school is required with respect to EE. Their motives and behaviours around EE indicate an alignment with Freirean leadership. Such leadership should work naturally to support the marriage of critique and possibility (Miller et al., 2008). Leadership counters that described in Larson, and Murtadha (2002) examination of a school community. It was found that school leaders' institutional attachments limited their capacities to critique their own organisations and that when faced with community dilemmas these leaders ultimately chose 'safe' practices that preserved their jobs rather than just practices that served diverse constituents. Freirean leadership is of note for its critique of instructional structures and traditions that perpetuate inequality. Further, Freire language calls for leaders to work with love, humility, faith, and hope. "It beckons us to expand our conceptualizations: of educational leadership responsibilities, strategies, and interactions in urban settings" (Miller et al., 2008, p. 1094). This Freirean benchmark for leadership provides a standard to measure the SMT of the case study school which expresses similar values.

Measurement is important as the case study school presents a unique challenge. The school employs the ideology and rhetoric of social justice, seeking to transform the world via EE, yet it is dominated by hierarchical structures including the Catholic Church. Freire's work is valuable for unmasking hegemonic forces, understanding the reality behind ideology and understanding how popular education works towards the transformation of society by the people (Miller et al., 2008). In sum, it is argued by Freire that the practice of education must be radically democratic, participative, and reject all forms of authoritarianism in order to meet the needs of students and their proximate communities.

In New Zealand, the oppressed and marginalised had comprised a smaller percentage of the population than in Latin America and experienced better living conditions (Wylie, (1995). There has subsequently been a deterioration in the gap between rich and poor in New Zealand (Maloney & Pacheco, 2012). The experience of the majority is in contrast to the discrimination and marginalisation faced by those who are not part of the dominant cultural group, such as indigenous people, refugees, non-native English speakers, people

with disabilities and those who are not heterosexual (Choules, 2007). There is truth to Freire's (1987) belief that for members of the dominant class to participate in the struggle for justice, they need to, in effect, commit class suicide and unite with the workers. However, approaches that are more flexible are adopted by other popular educators in Latin America (Aldana & Clarke, 2003). A focus exists on specific issues that need to be transformed in Latin America, such as inadequate health services, housing and roads: "we transform society when we make it more just, more equal, more democratic, more educational and healthier for all that live in it" (Aldana et al., 2003). Such a pragmatic approach would be consistent with the philosophy of the middle class, case study school, in naming inequalities and seeking to make a difference to those who are marginalised in society. By mapping this approach, an insight is provided into the creation of an entrepreneurial identity or culture at the school, which is constructed by and reflects power.

The Freirean framework assists in determining if the entrepreneurial identity of the case study school is oppressive in nature or is promoting social change education within the school. It can assist in determining who are the winners and losers within the context of EE. A question also arises as to whether students at the case study school engage in ideology critique and conscientisation. The popular education process of conscientisation incorporates an analysis and critique of a particular social, economic and historical situation and the raising of awareness. Conscientisation and ideology critique seek to "penetrate the environs of everyday reality to reveal the inequalities and oppression that lurk beneath" (Brookfield, 2000, p. 38). It is hoped

people (educators/students) learn to recognise how uncritically accepted and unjust dominate ideologies (such as capitalism or enterprise) are embedded in everyday situations and practices. (Brookfield, 2000, p. 36)

Partnerships form an integral part of EE. Although they usually involve commercial relations, at the case study school they also involve an engagement with community groups. A key issue with the partnership is inequitable power dynamics. This includes an uneven balance of power in the relationship between school and community-based participants (Gray, 2000; Maurrasse, 2001). A critical view of power dynamics suggests

that someone has power or control in every relationship and that a natural relationship does not exist (Freire, 1970). This is too often dichotomous in collaborative efforts in which a leaning institution is usually in control (Ascher & Schwartz, 1989; Perkins, Crim, Silberman & Brown, 2001). Purdy and Gray (1994) explain:

Subtle control of how problems in the domain are framed given some parties a clear advantage over others by keeping certain issues off the table, limiting participation by certain stakeholders, or in devising ground rules favourable to themselves (p. 380).

Miller and Hafner (2008) engaged in a critical examination of school, business and community partnerships. Their research employed a critical epistemological perspective. The project attempted to learn more about the processes employed by one particular partnership. Specifically, the study sought to reveal the extent to which the Freirean dialogical tenets of humility, faith, hope and critical thinking were embodied in this collaborative process. The research concluded by noting that in educational partnerships between diverse individuals and organisations, the onus is on those who occupy traditional leadership positions to ensure that equal participative opportunities are afforded to all interested parties (Miller & Hafner, 2008). Throughout his work, Freire (1970) asserted that collaborative efforts must emerge from self-identified needs of the people. The employment of Freire's notion of dialogue as a conceptual framework for understanding authentic collaborative relationships provides a unique aspect to this research. "Few domains are composed of equally powerful stakeholders at the outset, so if sharing power is to emerge; some allocation of power amongst stakeholders may be a necessary component of successful collaboration" (Gray, 2000, p. 243).

2.11 What is the curriculum content of social enterprise?

Freire examines the extent to which critical pedagogy can be considered a democratic form of education. EE would appear to be an area of study where freedom of thought and action is encouraged, and where reflection on decision making is mandatory. However it is doubtful critique of the programme is possible or allowed. It has been argued that Freire's dialogue cannot realistically occur in educational situations where the teacher remains in an institutionalised position of power. The case study school's refinement of EE with an emphasis on social engagement is identified as different. An application of the Freirean

framework will identify ways content formation and facilitation align with democratic principles (Freedman, 2007). Important for questions to be addressed are:

1. What democratic procedures were employed to develop the social enterprise curriculum?
2. Were students presented with multiple, competing positions on each social issue discussed?

The answering of these questions will provide a context for answering the two primary research questions. These are: where does power lie in terms of EE within New Zealand secondary schools and why is it important; and who are the winners and losers of EE? (see Chapter One)

A suggestion exists that students need to engage in a method to analyse these competing positions which will help shed light on the courses of social inequalities (Freedman, 2007). In Freirean tradition, ‘democracy’ refers to a state of affairs in which everyone has an equal ability to shape collective or communal knowledge. Hierarchies of all types – racial, economic, patriarchal, are seen as anti-democratic in that they amplify the voices of certain individuals or groups while matting those of others. Thus an ideal instructional process needs to be democratic because the curriculum is built around students’ increases and perspectives. Students identify the themes they want to discuss, and critique the academic knowledge the teacher presents based on their everyday understandings of the world (Shor, 1992). Freire sees the results of such instruction as democratic, in that students are gaining a deeper understanding of the social hierarchies that restrict the free exchange of ideas in the wider society. Freire refers to the growth in students’ “critical awareness as conscientization” (Freedman, 2007, p. 443). As an illustration, Freire notes that he wants students to understand that hunger is caused by the “asymmetrical social and economic distribution of wealth” (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 390).

Issues do exist around classroom dialogue. Freire argued that teachers ought to engage in horizontal dialogue with their students. “The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but the one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach” (Bowers, 1983 p. 61). Freire’s critics respond that he cannot have it both ways: teachers cannot be both equal partners in dialogue and directors of classroom discourse whose job is to meet the educational objectives that were defined in advance of

teaching situations (Bowers, 1983; Gee, 1987). On balance it would appear Freire was engaging in a “democratic process of curriculum development, which I have argued is a crucial piece of the puzzle” (Freedman, 2007, p. 467). Following Gutmann (1999), it was proposed that the development of the curriculum, not its implementation, should be following a democratic process. To

preserve students’ ability to make informed political judgements, teachers ought to present multiple positions on salient public issues and train students in a method of analysing those positions. In the interest of building democracy, part of this method must entail probing into the root causes of social inequalities (Freedman, 2007, p. 467).

Exploration as to how the social enterprise curriculum was developed, at the case study school, will furnish rich results. Richness is possible when the programme announces a different social model with community engagement and partnership. Applying Lukes’ framework, which embraces Freire, will provide an added insight into the existence of genuine democracy, hierarchical structure, and authentic practice within schools. All these elements are material to socialisation and cultural: aligning with Lukes’s third dimension of power.

An accommodation of the views of Freire can also be realised within the third dimension of power. Agreement also exists amongst other theorists that Lukes’ model can also accommodate their perspectives.

Despite criticism of Lukes’ (2005) model, agreement exists among theorists that a third dimension of power is possible. Scott (1990) has identified a thin theory of false consciousness. The theory maintains that a dominant ideology can achieve compliance by convincing subordinate groups that the prevailing social order is natural and inevitable. A thick theory claims consent, which compares to the resignation of the thin theory. Dowding (2006) notes Scott’s (1990) distinction between thick and thin acquiescence and suggests both can occur within Lukes’ framework of power. It stresses the continuing importance of seeing that power can assist in the gentle suppression of conflict by shaping people’s desires, beliefs and perceptions. This engenders “the willing participation by the powerless in their own domination” (Hayward, 2006, p. 156). Hindess (2006) agrees that “power may be at work even in cases where there is no overt conflict” (p. 118). Morriss (2006), while

reluctant to call it power, acknowledges Lukes (2005) as making “important and memorable points about how domination occurs” (p. 134). Shapiro (2006) states that Lukes’ second edition makes “a good case that power’s third face can in principle operate”, while adding that it “tells us nothing about how widespread its operation actually is” (pp. 146-7). This acceptance is noteworthy, given the issues of criticism that were raised when it was first advanced.

There is no longer a standing objection to Lukes’ (2005) critical or normative approach to distinguishing forms of power. This approach “reconceptualises the Marxian idea of false consciousness as the power to mislead” (Shapiro, 2006, p. 148). The objection is that a third dimension of power can be seen as condescending, inherently illiberal, paternalist or a licence for tyranny. Shapiro (2006) explicitly rejects this objection while noting the model offers no pathways as to how appeals to false consciousness, suitably reconceptualised, should be deployed in actual politics. Dowding (2006) rejects the Shapiro view, while acknowledging the seriousness of the charge and the complexity of the issues, and responds to this by stating: “suggesting that people are always the best judge of their own interests and have privileged moral status over their own preferences is to deny any sort of normative social-analysis” (Dowding, 2006, p. 137). An essential part of rebutting this charge, while taking it seriously and examining it carefully, is to reject any reductionist account of real interests. Shapiro (2006) and Dowding (2006), in terms of outcome not rationale, agree with the Lukes inspired normative approach to distinguishing levels of power.

Despite differences, an accord exists that allows movement forward with Lukes’ (2005) model of power. Once an antireductionist account of real interests is adopted, there is acknowledgment that actors have multiple and often conflicting interests (Shapiro, 2006). These are interests of different kinds and there can be no way of knowing in advance of an empirical inquiry if putative real interests are at stake. If this were the case, the view of power sketched would be intended to be empirically useful in that hypotheses could be framed in terms that are in principle verifiable. It is necessary to discover whether the third dimension of power is at work, and if so, in respect to which interests, to what extent and through what mechanisms does it function? This can be achieved by advancing testable hypotheses.

A hypothesis with respect to interests is advanced by Gaventa (1980). This research concerns the quiescence of oppressive and improvised Appalachian miners. Lukes (2005) affirms Shapiro's conclusion that Gaventa (1980) establishes the less easily observed second and third dimensions of power. A mobilisation of "institutional bias against the emergence of overt conflict: the conditioning of the miners' understandings of their interests occurred" (Shapiro & Wendt, 1992, p. 44). Historical narrative (of defeats in past struggles leading to resignation), comparative evidence (drawn from other miners' conflicts), structural analysis (of the role of corrupt unions and the lack of resources) and quasi-experimental evidence (of the impact of subsequent interventions leading to a partial breakdown in the power relations) combined to support Gaventa's conclusions (Shapiro & Wendt, 1992, p. 48). This is so, even in the absence of a "research design that would have tested his claim against rival hypotheses" (Lukes, 2006, p. 168).

A second example advanced by Shapiro is a co-authored book: *Death by a thousand cuts: The fight over taxing inherited wealth* (Graetz & Shapiro, 2005). This book incorporates a research design to test a hypothesis. It tells a story of the successful campaign to repeal estate tax in the US, which gained widespread support among voters. "Why did more than 70 per cent of US citizens believe that the tax was unfair and affected all Americans, while only 30 per cent had to pay it? Mechanisms from the second and third dimensions of power were marshalled: by various actors to shape public perceptions" (Graetz & Shapiro, 2005, p. 128). These included framing the tax as fundamentally unfair in principle and as 'double taxation'. The tax issue was also framed as a form of discrimination comparable to that against blacks and gays and a death tax portrayed as burdening vulnerable individuals at the end of their lives, rather than a charge on their fortunate progeny. The authors also applied the third dimension of power by reinforcing and exploiting misconceptions about tax and people's unrealistic optimism about their relative and absolute economic circumstances. People "underestimate the levels of inequality, overestimate their own wealth relative to others and exaggerate their likelihood of moving up significantly and getting rich" (Graetz & Shapiro, 2005, p. 119).

The role of the media was also influential in the campaign to repeal estate-tax in the US. There was a flooding of the media with stand-alone polls on the unfairness of the tax in isolation from the larger context of inequality and tax-policy, and thus consideration of its opportunity costs. The media voice was captured with the telling of heart-rending

individual stories. Portrayed were personalised stories, although factually irrelevant, of the callous dismantling of family farms and small businesses. A media culture of stories was created around this theme. Discussion focused on “abstract moral questions and away from real world implications of repeal. It also served as a simple, succinct battle cry: to unite the coalition members” (Graetz & Shapiro, 2005, p. 214). In sum, it appears a media influence can dominate real interests and lead to false consciousness. This fits within the third dimension of power.

Evidence of the application of false consciousness is provided by Frank (2004). The research is in the context of a pro-Republican backlash, which he portrays as a populist uprising of blue-collar working class people who suffer from an inverted form of class consciousness. “Sturdy blue collar patriots reciting the pledge while they strangle their own life chances; of small farmers proudly voting themselves off the land; of devoted family men carefully seeing to it that their children will never be able to afford college or proper health-care” (Frank, 2004, p. 10). Little explanation is offered by Frank (2004) of this alleged phenomenon, other than to state that the Democrats, “by dropping the class language that once distinguished them from Republicans ... have left themselves vulnerable to cultural wedge issues like guns and abortion whose hallucinatory appeal would ordinarily be far overshadowed by material concerns” (p. 245). The power of the media in both reporting and shaping these conflicts fits clearly within the third dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model.

In terms of distinguishing forms of power, Shapiro (2006) proposes legitimacy as an inappropriate idea for sorting domination from non-domination, but not showing that it can be rendered in a form that is not “sullied by the existence of power’s third face” (p. 151). Dowding (2006) notes Lukes’ “Spinoza hand waving about authenticity and freedom” (2006, p. 140) and instead proposes the idea of the autonomous versus non-autonomous formation of preferences as the requisite sorting device. Despite differing vocabularies no researcher has yet reached Damascus, but all agree that no adequate view of power can dispense with the crucial distinction. Agreement exists as to the value of Lukes’ (2005) model of power and distinctive third dimension.

Table 2.2: Distinctive Features of Lukes' Three-Dimensional Model of Power Combined & Extended by Foucault and Freire

Dimension of Power	Lukes' Focus	Foucault's focus	Freire's Focus
One-Dimensional View of Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making • (key) issues • observable (overt) conflict • (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation 		
Two-Dimensional View of Power	(Qualified) critique of behavioural focus: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making and non-decision making • issues and potential issues • observable (overt or covert) conflict • (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independence and Freedom' • Non-Decision Making • – Allowing Market and Individual Responsibilities to Prevail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Process • Leadership • Study of Power in an Educational Context • In-depth Language Analysis • Partnerships and Engagement with the Community/Stakeholders Social Justice Focus.
Three-Dimensional View of Power	Critique of behaviour, focusing on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) • issues and potential issues • observable (overt or covert), and latent conflict • subjective and real interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication patterns between parents, teachers and students are "asymmetrical" in terms of [their] organisation and structure. • Parents and students lack institutional knowledge, education content knowledge and expertise. • As a result teachers and schools directly and indirectly levy their professional status or authority to produce subjects (students) or 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Process • Leadership • Power in Relation to an Educational Context • Language • Partnerships and Engagement with the Community • A Social Justice Focus. Those who have power can transform everything surrounding it.

		knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1991).	
• Role of language	•	Binds the Lukes' Model of Power together with the two theorists Foucault and Freire. Foucault looks at language organised along themes or discourse. Language is power. Freire views language as never being neutral. Linguistic changes are key components of policy changes and in creating an entrepreneurial identity.	
• Neo-liberal context	•	Both Lukes and Foucault have advanced theories within a neo-liberal context.	

Sources: Lukes (2005, p. 29 – base diagram), Foucault (1980, 1991) & Freire (1981)

2.12 Chapter Summary

A three-dimensional model is employed to identify and explore power within the case study school and beyond. The Lukes' model of power is subject to critique. Power is a significantly contested issue and any mechanism for its identification will present difficulties. Despite critique, the three-dimensional model of power is an appropriate analytical framework for this research. Appropriateness of the Lukes' model is reflected in research situations including educational policy review, and community engagement both within a neo-liberal environment. Research results will assist in identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the social enterprise model.

The approach also embraces other significant power theorists, including Foucault and Freire (see Table 2.2), and allows an exploration of entrepreneurial identity, which has emerged at the case study school. Foucault-inspired theory can, after analysis, fit well within the third dimension of the power model. Various research applications of Foucault in a context of education and a neo-liberal agenda have produced probative conclusions. In terms of application to the case study school, a technology of performance regime exists. In terms of social enterprise, an economy of visibility has brought students, teachers, and schools into the gaze of policy (Ball, 2008). This can be reflected in a particular form and language and a standards agenda. In sum, through humble and mundane practices in schools and classrooms, connections are established “between the aspirations of authorities and the activities of individuals and groups” (Rose & Miller 1992, p. 183).

Further, EE appears as a political project for education in relation to national competitiveness and the forces and discourse of globalisation. In sum, it is a neo-liberal tool of engagement. This purports to make students into “economically useful citizens,

although there are other policies currently in play which construct quite different versions of the useful student” (Foucault, 1979, p. 202). This environment and technology can be seen as a reinvention, as a form of power, of discipline constituted within neo-liberalism. It is a definitive move away from any attempt to create a common, universal or comprehensive form of education, and towards one which characterises, classifies and specialises students distributed along a scale, around a norm, in a system of infinitesimal disciplines that operate on the “underside of the law” (Ball et al., 2012). The application of Foucault will provide sharpness in terms of analysis of language, school, economic environment, and tools of power employed (see Table 2.2).

The application of Freire’s (1970, 1986, 1987) provides an in-depth analysis of language and, like Foucault, fits within the third dimension of power. Freire has a clear focus on education and understanding of hierarchical structures that prevail within schools. The case study school practice can be examined, affirmed or critiqued, against a model of a genuine, authentic and democratic institution. The case study school’s social enterprise model, proclaiming a uniqueness in terms of community engagement and partnerships, needs assessment. Lukes’ framework will assist in identifying layers of power at the case study school. The framework itself is a potentially powerful tool for change by virtue of encouraging greater transparency.

Chapter 3

Entrepreneurial Identity and Schools

3.1 Introduction

Enterprise has engulfed the world. It has been applied to every facet of global life including the organisational structures of both universities and schools. The skills of enterprise are taught within communities of learning. The spread of enterprise has been facilitated by globalisation in its various guises, including the need to gain a competitive advantage, or to provide students with skills to ride the waves of the new knowledge economy. Tools employed to facilitate the delivery of enterprise are the development of partnerships and greater levels of accountability within educational institutions. An insight into entrepreneurial identity provides a context for the current research. An examination is also required of the policy which underlines EE. This is part of a policy agenda known as neo-liberalism. These policies need to be explored fully, in terms of principles, justification and application, and the context they provide for both EE and the case study school.

The relationship between knowledge and power was the focus of Foucault's (1979) work. This nexus comes to be embodied into discourses. A discourse represents a way of thinking, talking and writing about the world. Discourse represents the place where power and knowledge meet the world in a particular way which serves to constitute the 'reality' of everyday life for the ordinary members of society. Discourses link to power because there are at least multiple, competing discourses surrounding any object, event or person, each with a 'different' story to tell.

Neo-liberalism is a dominant discourse. The key ideology is that individual freedom is best guaranteed by the free market, and that the role of the state is to promote markets where they do not exist.

Neo-liberalism characterises the individual as a 'manipulatable man', who is self-interested by nature, but, to avoid his/her potential 'slackness', is encouraged to be continuously entrepreneurial, responsive and flexible (Olssen, Good & O'Neill, 2004, p. 137). Neo-liberalism further claims that "social-order is able to regulate itself under a system that is

completely governed by market-forces” (Govers, 2011, p. 55). Thus the sole role of the state should be to do as little as possible consistent with maintaining social order and the integrity of money: hence neo-liberal’s opposition to ‘Big Government’. There is an associated neo-liberal argument that such policies promote human dignity and individual freedom which are fundamental, as “the central values of civilization” (Harvey, 2005, p. 104).

Since the late seventies global politics has been dominated by neo-liberal ideas (Olssen, et al., 2004). Neo-liberalism has been taken up by political and economic elites as the preferred solution to the dual problems of stagflation: rising unemployment combined with rising inflation. Harvey (2005) argues that almost all states, ranging from states emerging from the collapse of the USSR, to old style social democracies like New Zealand and Sweden, and from post-apartheid South Africa to China, have embraced neo-liberal tenets. The argued basis has been the rhetoric of efficiency, accountability, and equity, and issues of privatisation, marketisation, and performance are becoming more pertinent (Basu, 2004; Giroux, 2005). As a result of an aggressive agenda, neo-liberalism has now become the favoured economic political ideology (Bradford, 2003; Finn, 2001). Giroux (2005) notes that under neo-liberalism everything is either for sale, or is plundered for profit. Welded to the belief that the “market should be the organising principle for all political, social and economic decisions, neo-liberalism wages an incessant war on democracy, public goods, and non-commodified values” (Huang, 2012, p. 40). Critics argue that such policies in education, increasingly concerned with issues of privatisation, marketisation, performance and the ‘enterprising individual’, have created greater inequalities and disparities in society (Apple, 2001). As a result, by donning the neo-liberal straightjacket, the US’ and other countries’ political and economic policy choices are considerably narrowed. “As a regulatory regime, the associated policies undermine public services and have considerable destructive impacts on public education” (Klaf et al., 2010, p. 195).

Political economic practices have advanced across the board “by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an international framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). An environment now exists which encourages freedom. The government needs to guarantee at a minimum the quality and integrity of the monetary system, and maintain military, defence, police and legal structures. Sectors of the economy formerly run or regulated by the

government, including education and health, must be turned over to the private sector and be deregulated (freed from government interference) (Larner, 2000).

3.2 Economic Justification for Neo-Liberal Policies

Economic argument forms the primary justification for neo-liberal economic policy. The argument is that all public investment, like education, inflates production costs, fosters dependency, and undermines competitiveness in international trade (Jessop, 1999). A government adopts a neo-liberal agenda with a view to fostering economic growth by scaling back regulative and distributive practices, and transferring service delivery from the public sector to the private sector. Such policies free capital from regulation and taxation, which theoretically will spur economic growth with some portion ‘trickling down’ to workers. Contrasted with redistributive policies, neo-liberalism recasts the distributive character of markets as more just in rewarding enterprising individuals who have advanced their own wealth and thereby society’s (Maxcy, 2011).

An economic crisis generates a loss of political confidence, which provides the ideal political opportunity to adopt or more rapidly advance neo-liberal policies. Such a situation was evident in the New Zealand context. Alan Gibbs, identified as being the New Zealand High Priest of the New-Right (Goldsmith, 2012), refers positively to the transition to neo-liberal policies:

My whole business experience had driven me to free-markets...over the years of running businesses in a highly regulated New Zealand society we found the great majority of one’s energy was spent either running up and down to Wellington to get permits or licences, or alternatively it was spent with one’s lawyers trying to find ways and means around the regulations. The net effect of that was probably over half of the most creative energies in New Zealand were frustrated (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 146).

The New Zealand neo-liberal transition was both quick and provided a role model for the world (Goldsmith, 2012). The reforms ended a controlled economy that had guided New Zealand for decades. Reforms included “a controlled exchange rate, regulations over foreign exchange transactions and lending rates, strict import licencing, a highly progressive personal tax-regime; all were being swept aside” (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 145).

Selling the neo-liberal policies, under adverse economic conditions, was simple as no economic alternatives existed. “New Zealand’s well-meaning instincts to dilute and distort the working of the market in a quest for equity: had slowly brought the economy to its knees” (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 207). Rapid deployment of such policies also found favour in an Australian context. “Social-safety nets declined: Projected shortfalls forced deep cuts in state and local services including education” (Maxcy, 2011, p. 261). The results of neo-liberal policy were constantly celebrated by its advocates. Ruth Richardson, former New Zealand Finance Minister, is observed to have realised a “colossal achievement” of getting state finances under control in the early 1990s by employing neo-liberal policy (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 330). Despite celebration such reforms are contested (see below).

Neo-liberal policies are often fused, rebranded or reframed by rhetoric, but still maintain their mainstream status. Reframing is dependant on the prevailing political environment. An example was evidenced in the United Kingdom. The Coalition government’s school plan has readjusted the rhetoric surrounding neo-liberal policy. “Government rhetoric suggests a decisive break with past policies but there is evidence to suggest that these reforms constitute the next stage of a long revolution in education reforms, control around neo-liberal market discourse” (Wright, 2011, p. 270). This rearticulating was coupled with the rhetoric of empowerment. Parents, and more recently, teachers have been identified as powerful actors who have been freed from legal and bureaucratic constraints forced upon them by central government. “We appear to be entering a new phase of neo-liberal hegemony in which once seemingly incompatible goals of social-justice and fairness are being collapsed upon and subsumed by market logics” (Wright, 2011, p. 279).

The new Coalition government has chosen to focus on student behaviour as a means of maintaining the neo-liberal agenda. Poor behaviour is now emphasised as a significant cause of educational failure as a well as a serious threat to the authority of teachers. In this context, the policy discourse articulates the teacher’s position as one of disempowerment, mainly as a result of legal and bureaucratic obstacles which prevent bad behaviour from being dealt with in schools. Conservatives have moved to easily capture teachers in their own employment agenda. The framing of policy is around giving back power to discipline students. The tools made available have been certain legal powers of detention, exclusion and confiscation as well as being legally “protected from false allegations” (Wright, 2011, p. 288). In the United Kingdom context an empowerment agenda has become the primary

method of legitimising, cementing and reproducing the ideas and practices that coincide with neo-liberal policy.

In the New Zealand context “the weight of evidence suggests that a neo-liberal policy agenda mainly benefits the wealthiest 20% of New Zealanders, while disadvantaging low and middle income earners” (Roper, 2011, p. 12). Despite evidence and opposition, neo-liberal policy remains the dominant discourse in New Zealand. The current Government is also committed to retaining and extending such policies (Roper, 2011).

Economic justification provides the key rationale for the adoption and retention of neo-liberal economic policies. The opportunity for adoption and extensions of policy are periods of financial crisis. Celebration and rebranding assist in the continual selling of the neo-liberal agenda.

3.3 New Public Management

New public management also provides a tool to further the neo-liberal agenda. Mechanisms include concepts like agency theory, managerialism and contractualism (Boston, Martin, Pallot & Walsh, 1996; Olssen, et al., 2004). Work relations are deemed to be a series of contracts between a principal and an agent. This provides autonomy to the agent within the boundaries of the contract, and allows the principal to exercise control through mechanisms of accountability. The government exercises devolved management control over education through contracts, which are monitored via accountability mechanisms that include reporting (Klaf et al., 2010; Foucault, 2003a) and quality assurance expectations.

New public management is concerned with efficiency and effectiveness of resource use, which seems very much related to financial viability (Govers, 2011). The quality and value of an educational institution is determined by efficiency and accountability; “to advance its relative position in the market” (Hubbell, 2007, p. 8). This focus on quality within schools is advanced through Total Quality Management. A need exists to “delight the customer (students) and strive for continuous improvement” (Eagle & Brennan, 2007, p. 45). The case study school has in place quality management systems that are subject to regular review. Reviews are conducted by the BoT and SMT, who are always seeking financial and resource efficiencies. EE and school operating practices exist in a context of market considerations, and focus on perceived students’ (customers’) needs.

3.4 Neo-liberalism and Education

Education is considered key to economic growth and to the reproduction of social inequality and disadvantage. Contemporary educational policy reflects the ideals of a neo-liberal agenda. Given that the United States both recognises and abides by the rule of the free market, public schools find themselves in a neo-liberal straightjacket. This one size fits all garment has pinched public schools. An example is the NCLB policy (Klaf et al., 2010). Although neo-liberal regimes adopt a hands off approach, intervention in education is justified to ensure favourable economic conditions. The reduction of government involvement in education was legitimised in favour of decentralization, privatisation, accountability, and the development of tighter connections with the business sector (Stromquist, 2002; Klaf et al., 2010).

3.5 A New Zealand Context – Education

New Zealand has moved further towards the implementation of neo-liberal approaches in education than most other countries (Gordon & Whitty, 1997). Such reforms are predicated on producing a “skilled workforce in the absence of a state sponsored safety net as government seeks to distance itself financially from the provision of education” (Klaf et al., 2010, p. 194). During the 1990s it was suggested New Zealand was ahead of England in the neo-liberal policy stakes (OECD, 1994). New Zealand reforms included an experiment in free parental choice in the public sector, as well as granting considerable autonomy to individual schools. “Reforms in England have been more cautious in most respects, thorough budgetary devolution to schools has actually gone further than in New Zealand” (Gordon & Whitty, 1997, p. 453).

At the case study school the adoption of EE is clearly aligned to a neo-liberal agenda. Govers (2011) makes reference to “acknowledging ideological discourses as the power structures that shape the direction of the adaptation of complex programmes” (Govers, 2011, p. 54). At the case study school EE has been adopted, and the implications have been very much welcomed (Harvey, 2005). It is suggested such an approach is both risky but

also shows the continued strengthening and dominance of neo-liberalist discourses (Govers, 2011).

3.6 Mechanisms and techniques for promoting neo-liberalism within education

Economic justification provides the upfront reason for the neo-liberal agenda. Apple suggests “rather than taking neo-liberal claims at face value, people should question the hidden effects that are too often invisible in the rhetoric and metaphors of the proponents” (2004a, p. 19). To understand how these policies were rapidly advanced during the early years of restructuring requires “an exploration of techniques and strategies related to power relations, hidden agendas (or motivations) and legitimations” (Basu, 2004, p. 623).

Curriculum reform is one clear mechanism for changing education delivery which aligns with new policy. Education and neo-liberal policies have a formalised link provided by the curriculum (Apple, 2001; Hopmann, 2008). This relationship is reflected in the United Kingdom. Changes occurred including a reduced education budget, a new national curriculum, testing designed to enhance parental choice, and the transfer of responsibility from local education authorities to individual schools (Whitty & Power, 2000). A testing regime was developed “measuring and tracking teacher performance, hours in the classroom, standardised curriculum, student testing and classroom sizes” (Basu, 2004, p. 629). This was a process of neo-liberalizing the classroom which assured the public that institutional effectiveness would be maintained. Within New Zealand, neo-liberal education reforms are now entrenched. Significant control is maintained by the state including curriculum setting and control over assessment (Openshaw, 2009).

A new curriculum provided a brutal mechanism to implement neo-liberal policy on the Ontario public education system. Three periods of neo-liberalism implementation were identified. First was a period of aggressive implementation using a variety of techniques and strategies. Neo-liberal reforms were then introduced in areas of governance, finance and curriculum. This was followed by a period of dissent, chaos, and finally to a period of quiet anticipation in which the neo-liberal agenda was slowly secured (Basu, 2004, p. 623). Through the use of rhetorical arguments, appeals to logic, emotion and ethics were used in public communication to promote and legitimate neo-liberal discourse. The rationalisation and restructuring of education was legitimised by a perceived need to remain globally

competitive in a “knowledge-based economy while at the same time maintain fiscal efficiency and accountability” (Basu, 2004, p. 628). The techniques and strategies included an ‘audit culture’ framed in terms of quality, accountably and empowerment that would assure that these goals were maintained (see Shore and Wright, 1999). With the “release of test results to the media, this technique of power allowed individual schools to police themselves within the public realm” (Basu, 2004, p. 628). In Foucauldian terms this disciplinary mechanism of assessment and surveillance marked a new form of coercive neo-liberal governmentality (Shore & Wright, 1999).

A ‘stealth approach’ to achieve reform included hidden and closed processes of budgeting, minimum public consultation, and technical language used to rationalise predetermined decisions (Prince, 1999). Overall, the reform was driven by economic and ideological imperatives beyond education policy, “introduced with considerable haste; and instituted without (or with minimum) public consultation” (Basu, 2004, p. 602). These processes are consistent with the second and third dimensions of power as expressed in Lukes’ (2005) model.

The art of rhetoric and persuasion were employed to advance neo-liberal education policy. Efforts were made to legitimise neo-liberal ‘truths’ through appeals to the logics, emotions and ethics of the public. Flyvbjerg (1988) argues that communication is established via a mode of eloquence, hidden control, rationalisation, and charisma, and by using dependency relations. Politicians persuaded using oral and written techniques that created doubt and allowed the public to lose confidence in the system. Rhetoric employed includes “using phrases including ‘children first’, ‘local school boards are inefficient and inept’, ‘unions are a problem’, ‘teachers do not spend enough time in the classroom’, and ‘funding should be shifted back within the classroom’” (Basu, 2004, p. 632). These phrases were identified in a pattern of speeches and media releases. Such rationalisation “techniques not only further, promote, strengthen and consolidate the foundation of neo-liberal principles but also work towards appealing to the general approval of the public” (Basu, 2004, p. 632). With very deliberate and timely strategies a neo-liberal education agenda can be realised in a covert manner.

3.7 Mainstream Status of Enterprise within Education

Education has undergone substantive change along with other areas of government.

Enterprise values are now mainstream. There has been a resultant loss of values. DuGay (2000) draws upon the anti-elite discourse of Frank (2002) who identified the reframing of public service purpose in Britain. DuGay argues that the rise of a new elite has potentially serious consequences for traditional expectations around political accountability, and the tenets of responsible government. Educators can be viewed as part of this public service in the context of DuGay's analysis. These professionals traditionally lived their institutional lives according to sets of values. Public servants serve the state as opposed to the business world. 'Market-populism' has proven to be a powerful weapon in the politics of institutional modernisation (Frank, 2000). For market populists, any institution that does not ultimately answer to the market is fundamentally an illegitimate actor in the political life of the state. An aspect of 'market-populism' in the context of this research is EE. The same arguments for reform and change exist and the same carnage results.

Arguments of globalisation and economic national interest are employed, both in New Zealand and internationally, as a justification for the advancement of an entrepreneurial identity within government agencies. As with other state agencies, contracts or investment plans are being employed in the education sector. Schools operate pursuant to contracts with the MoE. The contractual relationship is finely tuned by NEG's and NAG's. The primary contract is an individual school charter that is signed and agreed with the MoE (Sulkunen, 2010). Further, YET has contractual relationships with regional development agencies to facilitate local enterprise. Any new programme or initiative is delivered pursuant to contract. This is a new feature with education. Included within such contracts are timeframes, performance criteria, expected outcomes and audit mechanisms. The case study school has both formal and informal contracts with external stakeholders that support the delivery of EE (Freedland, 1994). This process is termed 'contractual implication' by Donzelot (1991), and typically consists of assigning the performance of a function or an activity to a distinct unit of management.

The entrepreneurial revolution has extended its power over our lives (Scott et al., 1988). Enterprise was once seen as the ideological property of the New-Right and has gradually been transmitted, by a contractual culture, into a set of seemingly neutral organisational techniques (Crouch et al, 2000; Scott et al, 1988). Examples include community regeneration and 'social entrepreneurship' (Leadbeater, 1999); remodelling social security 'entrepreneurial-welfarism' (Stoker, 2000); and restructuring of higher education

(Marginson & Considine, 2000). Through language framing, restructuring schools and employing the mechanisms of contract, enterprise has become mainstream. The state is no longer required to answer all of society's needs for education and other public services.

Power needs to be conceived broadly in order to identify the powerful, and those who are the advantaged and disadvantaged, and this approach is achievable within Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional model of power. The framework is broad enough to incorporate entrepreneurial identity (DuGay, 2000, 2004). It is clear within the context of secondary education that enterprise is now a feature of the global landscape.

3.8 Enterprise Education - Secondary Schools

The neo-liberal agenda is manifested within secondary schools globally through financial literacy and EE programmes. The embrace of enterprise extends beyond New Zealand to include the United States, Australia and Britain. The formation of Young Enterprise Europe has occurred, incorporating Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, the Republic of Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russia, the Slovak Republic and Sweden (Greenwald, 1999). This association of countries is united by the common purpose of enabling young people to learn about the world of work through running their own companies.

In the United States, the Junior Achievement Scheme began in 1919 and was subsequently imported into Great Britain in the 1960s under the name 'Young Enterprise'. All programmes are run on a similar basis with students setting up businesses and using volunteers from the local business community as mentors. They offer help only when asked, which means that students make mistakes and learn from them (Greenwald, 1999).

Poor economic performance and recessions have led to calls for the intensification of enterprise delivery within schools. In the United Kingdom every primary and secondary school should have an effective link with a local business by 2010 (Lipsett, 2008). These measures are designed to help create a world-class education system. In Scotland, research reveals the voices of educational and economic drivers for enterprise "are not in conflict as they seek identical outcomes" (Watt, 2002, p. 1). There are continuing calls for the intensification of enterprise. Watt (2002) states:

Scotland's needs more entrepreneurs to create jobs and wealth and the private sector are trying to change the culture, to make more Scots more enterprising and more willing to consider starting their own business as a positive career option.
(p. 7)

A similar situation exists in Australia, which has adopted EE within its schooling system (Peterman, 2000; Young, 1999). In sum, EE is now widespread and regarded as a driver of national economic wellbeing.

3.9 The neo-liberal tools of enterprise education

Despite the rapid growth in New Zealand, and globally, there exists a deficit in terms of accessing information regarding the student benefits from EE (Apple, 2004a; Huang, 2012). Limited independent research exists on the impact and benefits enterprise has on young people (Davies, 2002; Peterman & Kennedy, 2003). Part of the problem is the lack of clarity over definitions, practice, policy aims and a lack of independent evaluations (Matlay, 2008; Athayde, 2009). What is clear is EE is an integral part of the neo-liberal education agenda: existing without meaningful evaluation.

What is known is that key requirements for EE include partnerships, accompanied by strong accountability from schools delivering programmes. Partnerships provide a defining characteristic of EE (Renwick & Gray, 2001). The case study school has in place both commercial and community partnerships as part of its social enterprise model.

School and business partnerships have been promoted due to a perceived inadequacy of public education to prepare students for economically productive roles in a globalised knowledge economy (Basu, 2004; Bennett & Thompson, 2011). Partnerships take different forms including building networks with a diverse range of external agencies. These may include work experience, employer visits, business presentations and mock interviews (Huddleston & Oh, 2004; Mertkan, 2011). Some writers are concerned that priorities for private sector involvement will lead to school-house commercialism, cloaked by espoused altruistic motives in form of 'corporate social responsibility' (Brent & Lunden, 2009). Critics argue partnerships have few tangible benefits beyond donations and volunteers, and divert time and resources away from core problems and the important focus of increasing student academic achievement and preparation for democratic citizenship (Abowitz & Boyles, 2000; Brent & Lunden, 2009). It is also argued that partnerships can promote

racial and social inequality (Bartlett, Fedrick, Gullbrandwn, & Murillource, 2002; Woods & Woods, 2005).

Schools actively pursued partnerships, motivated in part by shrinking budgets, and in the face of demands for accountability and free market competition. Many “welcome these interactions as potentially beneficial sources of greater public legitimacy” (Bennett & Thompson, 2011, p. 828). An adoption of partnerships may provide needed human and physical resources but may “not provide a lasting impact on student achievement outcomes” (Bennett & Thompson, 2011, p. 832). Instead, they may serve as powerful myths in that they are adopted “ceremoniously to increase legitimacy and survival prospects” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 340).

In addition to partnerships, another key requirement or characteristic of EE is the need for accountability and surveillance. This trend is reflective of a wider neo-liberal agenda. In the US, federal government traditionally limited power over the local education system. However, as Apple (2001) indicated, in the era of the knowledge economy, the threats of Asian countries such as Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong challenged the competitiveness of the US. Federal government became involved in education. The NCLB ACT of 2001 provides a reactive example to identified national educational threats. Corporate and government leaders have pressured states to develop curriculum standards and tests (Sleeter, 2008). The rationalisation of restructuring was legitimised by first establishing an immediate need for schools to “raise their standards and adjust their curriculum in order to remain competitive in a global economy” (Basu, 2004, p. 631). In the New Zealand context an audit culture also exists. ERO provides ‘objective feedback’ on the performance and makes public disclosures. Surveillance and control through the monitoring, standardising, and accounting of performance is a defining characteristic of New Zealand secondary education (see Foucault, 1991; Shore and Wright, 1999; Basu, 2004).

A description of the actual responsibilities, processes and structures (see Chapter 4) exist at each level of management within the case study school. More control and accountability, at a broader level, is exercised by BoT, MoE and the Catholic Church. Such structures provide a manifestation of neo-liberal discourse, and of new public management. This discourse is characterised by a “devolution of management control coupled with the development of improved reporting, monitoring and accountability mechanisms” (Boston,

et al., 1996, p. 26). While it provides actors, and particularly teachers, with a sense of autonomy, the nature of this autonomy is bounded by managerial control (Govers, 2011). Neo-liberalism is a dominant mode of discourse.

New Zealand secondary schools exist in a changed environment of control and accountability. EE also has a prescribed culture of regular testing, examination and reporting. Another requirement of EE is the need for students to generate media publicity, engage in public events, including product launches and exhibitions, which are formally rewarded and lead to formalised qualifications. Schools are regularly audited in terms of enterprise delivery including teacher and student practices.

3.10 Conclusion

The prevailing neo-liberal agenda is reflected in the current education environment. EE programmes are now mainstream features of New Zealand secondary education. A key justification is economic, with a need to embrace competition. Different mechanisms are employed to entrench policy including direct curricula, new public management techniques, rhetoric and reframing of tools. Covert patterns also exist for implementation and development of neo-liberal policies within education. Partnerships and a focus on accountability are a mechanism employed to facilitate the delivery of enterprise. Power exists and underlies the growth of enterprise within schools. The adoption of Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional model of power will allow an exploration of entrepreneurial identity that has emerged at the case study school.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This thesis aims to answer the following two questions:

1. Where does power lie in terms of EE within New Zealand secondary schools and why is it important to identify where the power lies?
2. Who are the winners and losers of EE ?

The research will focus on the interaction between power interests, and what questions the study of power can answer and those that it cannot.

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research is to analyse who has the power in EE through an in-depth, qualitative study. Insight into this relatively new phenomenon is provided by a case study approach. The case study reveals an extraordinary journey. This chapter will describe the case study school, and explore the processes through which information was gathered and interpreted.

Qualitative research has a multi-method focus involving an interpretative and naturalistic approach to its subject matter. It attempts to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to it in a natural context (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). A case study approach has been selected for this research. Such an approach provides a strategy to illuminate decision(s) (or non-decisions), why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result (Schramm, 1971). Case study approaches have been used in similar educational contexts (Fraser-Thomas & Beaudion, 2002; Lohmeier, 2008; Merriam, 1998).

4.2 A Case Study

The case study school has achieved regional, national and international success in EE. Its

approach to enterprise is unique. It involves a commitment to social justice, community engagement and ethical business. This study provides insight into EE that identifies an underlying sadness punctuated by moments of extraordinary success.

The school selected for the case study provides a revelatory and exceptional case (Yin, 2003). It is a real life situation, in an educational context, which has not previously been explored. The case study environment lends itself well to studying layers of power. It can answer the research questions and provide an examination of ontology and epistemology from a perspective of differentiated realities (Llewellyn, 2007). A justification of the use of a case study approach and a description of the methods of data gathering, classification, analysis techniques, standards of validation and evaluation of data are provided in this chapter.

4.2.1. Ontology and Epistemology

All research design begins with philosophical assumptions a researcher makes in deciding to undertake a qualitative study. The researcher brings his own worldviews, paradigm, and set of beliefs to this research. Paradigms or worldviews refer to a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba, 2000; Mertons, 1998). These inform the methodological choices of this qualitative study (Creswell, 2007) and need to be made explicit. Assumptions I make include a stance towards the nature of reality (ontology), knowledge of what I know (epistemology), the role of my values in the research (axiology), the language of research (rhetoric) and the methods used in the process (methodology) (Creswell, 2007).

Questions that derive from ontology include what kind of beings are human beings? What is the nature of reality? In terms of epistemology, I ask the following questions: what is the relationship between the known and me? In terms of methodology, how do people know the world, or gain knowledge of it? (see Guba, 2000, p. 18; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 14-15) These beliefs shape how I see the world and act in it. I am “bounded within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which regardless of ultimate truth or falsity become partially self-validating” (Bateson, 1972, p. 314). This net contains my epistemological, ontological and methodological premises, which may be termed a paradigm or interpretative framework. In summary, this research is interpretative, guided by my set of beliefs and findings about the world and how it should be understood and

studied.

As a researcher, I acknowledge my background and past experience will shape research interpretations. I have attempted to position myself in the research to acknowledge how the interpretation flows from their personal, cultural and historic experiences. As a researcher, I need to interpret, and this is an interpretation shaped by my own experience and background.

My experience will be particularly relevant as I was an insider within the case study school. I was involved with the delivery of EE. As an insider, I have made a choice to study my workplace. On the one hand, insiders have an advantage in accessing and interpreting case studies (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993; Patterson, Hale & Stessman, 2007). On the other hand, such a position is ambiguous: partly championing and promoting EE, but also seeking to critique elements of the approach. Such an approach to accessing knowledge is not unknown in a secondary school context (De La Ossa, 2005) or when exploring a new phenomenon (Birley, 2002). My goal is to make sense and interpret the meanings others have about the enterprise phenomenon.

Two assumptions have been made that relate to both ontology and epistemology. The ontological assumption is that reality is both subjective and multiple as seen by participants in the study. The implications are that I choose to use quotations and themes in the words of the participants and provide evidence from different perspectives. In terms of epistemology, the focus is the role I play in identifying my sample. I wanted to be open to surprise, and not presume any research results. Any research is bounded within a net of epistemological and ontological premises (Guba, 2000), which regardless of ultimate truth or falsity become partially self-validating (Bateson, 1972). By identifying stakeholders and capturing a wide range of voices, any prejudicial effects can be reduced in terms of insights gained.

I have drawn on the work of Llewellyn (2007) who advocates ‘differentiated realities’ when completing case study research. ‘Differentiated realities’ require listening to and understanding different voices. Power is embedded within voices – some contradictory even within and between different groups. An example is different perspectives within the Catholic Church or between student participants. The traditional belief is that a case

equates to a single reality, an entity, phenomenon or unit (Yin, 1984). Often, a case is seen as a 'unit of analysis' (Silverman, 2000); or as a 'single unit' (Bryman, 1989). In order to access the full contribution of a case study, it is necessary that the study is not of a single, unitary phenomenon (or reality) but several differentiated ones (Llewellyn, 2007). This is important because "reality itself is not homogeneous, rather it's made up of entities whose own constituents are radically different from each other" (Archer, 2003, p. 35). Sampling widely therefore, to capture the different and often contradictory voices within the case study site and beyond the school gates, is central to my methodology. This is particularly important also with regard to the research question, because power is manifested both explicitly and implicitly and can be interpreted differently by stakeholders.

Methodological choices need to also fit the environment. Case studies are valuable during times of change to see our neo-liberal policy manifests itself in new educational practice (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002; Schofield, 2003). When conditions are stable and relatively well understood, a survey is likely to be the most appropriate research method. During periods of stability, objective structures, inter-subjective cultural understandings, and subjective opinions are confirmed. During periods of change, a triangulation of sources is also likely to throw up discordant results (Llewellyn, 2007). Under conditions of change, the differing modes of existence of the differentiated realities that case studies explore assume a heightened significance as objective and subjective states of affairs are likely to be discordant rather than mutually confirming. EE, a new phenomenon, lends itself to such an approach of differentiated realities and research strategies. Research into EE at this time is essential. The phenomenon has become mainstream but there is variance in definition, approach and a lack of research into practice. The case study school has attempted to moderate the practice of EE and align it with social justice values. This approach is worthy of examination, particularly in terms of internal relations within the school community and those external to the institution.

A different approach was applied to engaging teachers who had expressed opposition to the enterprise culture. Nine teachers were interviewed. My initial scoping, prior to undertaking this PhD, indicated this group were going to be problematic to engage. Concerns existed in relation to disclosure because of the possibly likelihood of participant identification within a small school. This could potentially lead to a, professional disadvantage for the participants. An additional concern to the participants was the

ambiguous role of the researcher (see Chapter 4). Eleven teachers were initially approached with nine eventually agreeing to participation. The two teachers refusing engagement cited a hostility to anything to do with enterprise including research activity. Once they had agreed to be interviewed and their minds had been put at ease with regard to identification issues all teacher participants who responded in an open manner. The passage of time from initial contact to the interview process and the researcher no longer being employed at the college also positively affected the quality of the interview. Also assurances of confidentiality with respect to the research process and the sharing of findings provided a sense of safety. The interviewing process provided the first structured opportunity to share teacher stories and perspectives on the enterprise culture.

My research method choices also had to enable me to access information in a subtle manner. Power can be very implicit and not something people seek to name or are proud of. It would be very unlikely to hear the assertion “we have all the power”, and few people are likely to volunteer “I actually have a lot more power than Mr. or Mrs. X”. There is a reluctance to name power explicitly. This can be reflected in different words or power being expressed as positive role modelling. An example is when students are praised by regional and national supporters for exhibiting good business practice (Field Notes: 15/05/2006; 24/09/2007; 04/08/2010) or when techniques are employed to insert enterprise into a school environment by having enterprise inserted into conversations (National Supporter A and Teacher A). The use of differentiated realities fits well into providing insights into power when a large range of stakeholders were participants in this research.

4.2.2. Case Study Rationale

Case studies can be viewed as an intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures and various blends of material, and thus the fabric is not explained easily or simply (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative researchers use terms such as constructivist, interpretive, feminist, post-modernist and naturalist research. Within these worldviews, a question arises as to the most appropriate lens for identifying power. My lens needs to provide enough scope to both interpret EE in context, and to assist in a more in-depth understanding of how it is not a neutral activity but can lead to winners and losers. To obtain both depth of insight and breadth of voices I have selected a single case study lens

in which I let all the many voices involved speak for themselves.

A single case study approach allows issues to be explored within a bounded system. It can be used for the simple or complex (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon” (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2002). Although Stake (2005) notes that case study research is not a methodology but a choice of what is to be studied, others present it as a strategy for inquiry, a methodology or a comprehensive research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). In my research, the case study approach is simultaneously a methodology, an object of study as well as a product of the enquiry. A case study adds a richness and depth to the understanding of the organisation of EE. An opportunity existed to examine the initiation, growth and development of EE along with insight into a national context. The passage of time also provides an integral part of qualitative research (Schramm, 1971). It allows a new phenomenon to be examined at key stages from its initiation, development and fusion into a school culture. EE has been operative for eight years at the selected case study school, which allows an examination of event sequence. Through case study examination, it is possible to observe issues evolve, conflicts emerge or social relationships develop. In sum, it is appropriate for my research question as it enables me to detect processes, causal relations and the existence of power (Neuman, 2000).

A data-focused approach or method is complementary to, and sits alongside, a flexible framework. Flexibility existed by using a semi-structured interview approach and adding different ‘voices’ groups as it became apparent from the interviews that these were important.

4.2.3. Previous Use of Single Case Studies in an Educational Context

Single education case studies have provided an effective methodology in educational contexts. Examples can be provided within both tertiary and secondary educational settings.

In a university context, Brennan and McGowan (2006) research academic entrepreneurship via an exploratory case study. Further examples include studies on corporate brand identification (Balmer & Liao, 2007) and explanatory/exploratory investigations

(Gummesson, 1991). In a university context, a case study methodology is considered a worthy pathway when little is known about the phenomenon (Gill & Johnson, 1991).

A case study approach is also well suited to a secondary school environment (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2002; Merriam, 1998). Such an approach was employed in evidence gathering on organisational and structural change as a result of policy reform (Lohmeier, 2008). This sole case provided reflective insight into roles and responsibilities of students, staff members, administrators and stakeholders (Lohmeier, 2008). Research at the case study school is similar but lacks a policy compulsion element, and is focused on the power initiating, sustaining and developing the culture of enterprise. The case study research goes beyond that of Lohmeier (2008), examines a longitudinal picture, and takes a proactive approach to 'tracking student success over time'. The current research takes a more forensic approach by examining the effects of power in the context of EE. Such an approach is also consistent with other school-based research (Bosworth, 2000; Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991). Other examples of a case study approach include a focus on: the transitional experience of students (Pereira et al., 2007); post-school employment outcomes (Doren, Lindstrom, Zane & Johnson, 2007); and teaching strategies for new programmes for junior science (Hand & Frain, 2002). A cultural dimension within a secondary school was examined, via a qualitative case study, in two marginalised groups: Maori and Samoan students (Gershon & Collins, 2007). Such an approach captured the voice of student participants. My case study school has a similar focus, through its EE programmes, on supporting marginalised groups within the community.

Lenses and approaches employed in various educational contexts hopefully affirm my decision to pursue a case study approach.

4.2.4. Why Use A Single Case Study?

A single rich case study captures a variety of interactions but also has scope for an extended application. Gerring (2007) states, "an intensive study of a single case can meet the aim to generalise across a larger set of cases of the same general type" (p. 65). An extreme case method can be justified if of extreme value to an independent or dependent variable interest. Since case studies seek general causes, they tend to focus on structural casual factors. According to Gerring (2007), "single outcome studies seek the causes of

specific outcomes; they often focus on contingent causal factors, for example leadership, decisions, or other highly proximate factors” (p. 196). Such an approach is highly relevant to the case study school, where the issue of power is being examined in the context of decision making within the case study site and externally. Patton (2002) notes a common approach in qualitative research is to select cases from which the most can be learnt. It is argued that more can be learnt from studying extreme cases than trying to define the average. The probative value for conducting a single case study outweighs any prejudicial value, notwithstanding the following covenant provided by Yin (2003): “single case study designs ... require careful investigation of the potential case to minimise the chances of misrepresentation and to maximise the access needed to collect the case study evidence” (p. 42). Selection of a single case study design can be justified on the basis that it can be generalised and represents an extreme case study.

4.2.5. Why Select this Specific Case Study?

EE at the case study school was adopted in 2003 and continues to this day. The case study school is extraordinary in terms of EE achievements. The school is nationally identified as a leader specifically in relation to the YES Programme. Engagement with this programme has earned many regional, national and international awards from government ministries, private companies and trusts. Embracing enterprise has also resulted in the development of many partnerships. The other reason why this school was selected is that the researcher already had a strong relationship with the school and had experienced EE in this school. The relationship provided access. Access to the school was provided by the principal, who is the gatekeeper for onsite research (Taylor & Bogden, 1984). The principal has agreed to allow research into the historical and current operations relating to EE at the college. The experience provided insight.

Special partnerships with the community are a distinctive feature of the case study school. Partnerships are an explicit and essential tool for delivering EE. They also provide an integral insight into power (see Chapter 15). Exploration is required into the power inequality between partners to identify the proportional benefits of engagement (Lukes, 2005). They occur in a variety of contexts and involve different levels of commercial engagement (Thrupp et al., 2007; Wylie, 1995). The case study school actively engages in community partnerships as part of its enterprise programmes (Hands, 2008). These are

similar to other partnerships in an educational context (Chen, 2008; Wai-Ming, 2007). Both types of partnerships are drawn upon at the case study school to facilitate the delivery of EE (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002). Combining these partnerships into an enterprise model is a defining characteristic of the case study school.

The rationale of pursuing special partnerships with the community relate to the special character of the case study school. Core values of the school are to support those marginalised in the community, and to promote tolerance, understanding and compassion. The traditional focus of the Christian Brothers is on action, not rhetoric. This makes the case study school both distinctive and unusual (Howley, Howley, Burgess & Pusateri, 2008).

A question that needs to be addressed is why do some stakeholders have more power than others? ‘Stakeholder’ is a term frequently used in the context of EE. Further, it is related to neo-liberalism which also advocates new managerialism:

Ideologies, structures and practices of governance, including learning institutions, have undergone a fundamental transformation in the last 30 years. The set of reforms designated as ‘New Public Management’ have introduced modalities of governance that appear to mimic market:-competition, transparency, calculation of costs and benefits and articulated choice between alternatives. (Sulkunen, 2010, p. 495)

The inequalities of power between stakeholders, including negative consequences, are clearly apparent in the corporate sector. Historically, “traditional corporate governance, network governance, introduces a division of power via multiple boards, checks and balances and active stakeholder engagement worked well but are now gone” (Pirson & Turnball, 2011, p. 101). A lack of genuine equality and communication among institutional stakeholders is often masked. Concepts such as ‘sustainable development’, ‘corporate social responsibility’ and now ‘community engagement’ are often cited as evidence that corporations are responding adequately to criticism and listening to stakeholders. It is suggested that such tactics neutralise opposition and maintain existing power relations (Parsons, 2008). It is argued that bringing strategic stakeholders into the decision-making tent of an organisation provides a way to introduce independent experts with new

perspectives, values and experiences to enrich the firm with distributed intelligence for the decomposition of decision making (Pirson & Turnbull, 2011). However, there is acknowledgment that reducing existing inequalities between different stakeholders will require a legislative response or strong collective self-regulation (Campbell, 2006). This case study will attempt to capture features of a lack of equality of voice among stakeholders, the relationships, and the resulting power relations (Helferty, 2009).

4.2.6. Case Study School Context

The case study environment is important. This is evident when looking at careers within the context of organisational change. Lips-Wiersma and Hall (2007) examine why organisations would, or would not, want to take responsibility for career management and development. It was found a new career is driven by changing organisational contexts such as flatter organisations. A parallel situation would be an organisational adoption of enterprise at the case study school. The adoption of enterprise has affected the entire educational community. A summary of change management theory shows that “change occurs at the individual level but is significantly influenced by organisational norms and culture” (Whelan-Berry, Gordon, & Hinings, 2003, p. 190). It was found in the context of career and organisational change, that

Successful buy in to organisational change is likely to necessitate individuals adjusting their mental models of what may constitute a successful, secure, or fulfilling career. At the same time, it is likely to necessitate organisational awareness and management of literature we need to acknowledge that there may be differences of interests between employers or managers and employees. There are compelling arguments to understand the nature of these differences, and how they are addressed in the context of organisational change (Lips-Wiersma & Hall, 2007, p. 775).

An understanding of the context in which change is occurring is relevant. The case study school context is both standard in terms of school structure but unique in terms of values and philosophy.

The case study school enjoys a unique student composition with respect to gender and ethnic composition. The school is Catholic but has a special character which focuses on social justice and the marginalised. The case study school has a relatively recent history in

terms of education delivery in New Zealand but is part of an historic Edmund Rice tradition. The school has special character status with respect to the New Zealand education system (see below, and Chapter 10). Within the case study school there are a number of internal relationships including the SMT and BoT. The mapping of these relationships assists in putting enterprise decision making into a context.

4.2.7. Location and Student Composition

The case study school is situated in New Zealand and enjoys a religious special character status. Male students are taught, from years 7 to 13, with a school roll of 492 comprising 34 international fee-paying students. The ethnic composition of students is New Zealand European/Pākehā 76%, Māori 9%, Samoan 6%, other Pacific 3%, Asian 2% and 1% Middle Eastern. A full-time teaching staff of 36 is employed. The college has a stated belief in having an environment providing:

excellence in caring with staff who are committed to guiding young men through a broad range of spiritual, academic, cultural and sporting programmes in order for students to reach their full potential. (Case study school website)

Further, the college has a Latin maxim of ‘Virtute Scientiam Complete’ which translates: ‘to round off knowledge with manliness’. The case study school seeks to combine a special character with high expectations for a culturally diverse range of students.

Special Character History of Case Study School

The case study school was established in 1961 and follows the tradition of the Christian Brothers’ founder, Edmund Rice (1762-1844). The school is part of an Oceania Provenance. The school has a focus on social justice issues and, particularly, the welfare of marginalised youth. Consistent with other Catholic schools a mission exists to ensure students fully develop their humanity. As such, the Catholic character extends far beyond religious education classes and touches upon all aspects of college life. This culture is reflected in the celebration of liturgy and orientation towards service. The flavour of Catholic life is evident in the case study school through Masses, retreats, the religious education curriculum (Field Notes: 26/09/2005; 4/012/2007; 23/04/2008). Senior students

are exposed, within their religious education programme, to a range of speakers who challenge them to consider their spirituality as young men of the 21st century (Case study school website). The generalised Catholic special character is further refined with the added emphasis on the founder Blessed Edmund Rice.



Visual of Blessed Edmund Rice (Case Study School – Annual Report – 2007)

The values of Edmund Rice can be distilled into three areas.

a. **Empowerment through education.**

Education was the means Edmund Rice used to transform the children of his day. Since then it has been the method of helping people to help themselves. The Brothers have been involved in all levels of education for over two hundred years, and in thirty-five countries.

b. **A strong commitment to justice.**

Human rights advocacy is a new ministry of the Christian Brothers and reflects a new understanding of global mission. Right across the world young people and children are the victims of injustice and poverty. Many are abused. All are in need of compassion, services and a safe place where they can speak of and about their situation. When Edmund Rice looked out the window in Waterford he saw the children on the street; today he would see the children of the world.

c. **On the side of the poor and disadvantaged.**

Since the time of Blessed Edmund Rice the Christian Brothers have directed their

personnel and resources to educating the poor (Case Study - School Special-Character Charter).

At the case study school the influence of Edmund Rice is further manifest in building names, statutes, art works and remembrance at formal occasions. An example is the school prayer which is recited each week at college assemblies and other important celebrations.

O God, we thank you for the life of Edmund Rice. He opened his heart to Christ present in those oppressed by poverty and injustice.

May we follow his example of faith and generosity

Grant us the courage and compassion of Edmund as we seek to live lives of love and service

We ask this through Christ our Lord. Amen

(Case Study School – Annual Magazine, 2006, p.5)

The special character of Catholicism is a defining feature of the case study school. A further refinement exists with adherence and acknowledgment of the life of Edmund Rice in both words and deeds.

4.3 External Relationships

New Zealand Ministry of Education

Despite being a school of special character, secular legislative compliance is still required. The relationship between the MoE and school is defined by the *Integration Act* (1975). This Act established a partnership between the Proprietors and the Crown which imposes obligations on the BoT. The Act prescribes a definition of special character and provides for a state-directed regulatory environment.

All State schools, including integrated schools, are obliged to meet National-Administration Guidelines (NAGS) and National-Education Goals ('NEGS'), determined by the MoE. (*Integration Act, 1975*)

These regulations provide for the same compliance regime to apply to special character as for state schools. The key difference between special character and state schools is ownership of land and buildings, with an entrenched right to deliver special character instruction alongside the national curriculum. To assist with regulatory compliance the

NZCEO acts as a relationship manager between Government, MoE and individual Catholic schools while maintaining integrity around the special character. The office provides guidance and support for all Catholic schools by facilitating annual conferences, resolving conflict and disseminating information.

The special character of the case study school represents a powerful influence in terms of enrolments, teaching and learning. The physical environment is dominated by special character physical manifestations including crosses, statues, and inscriptions (Field Notes: 26/09/2005; 4/012/2007; 23/04/2008). Every classroom has a cross and a small raised platform at the front of each classroom where the teacher stands. Every class begins with a prayer (Field Note: 26/09/2005). Each application for enrolment at the school needs to be accompanied by formalised evidence of current faith practice by parents (Field Note: 23/04/2008). The power of the special character needs to be acknowledged at the school while also endeavouring to explore the power of enterprise.

Education Review Office

Enforcement or compliance of the Government's legislative regime, including NEG's and NAG's, occurs on a three yearly cycle by the ERO. The reviews are conducted by Review Officers, who have

a duty to apply objective consideration and judgement to their work at all times. Review officers must be impartial when undertaking reviews and will interpret and present evidence fairly. They will resist any pressures that would influence their impartiality (ERO Statement, Chief Review Officer, 2007).

ERO's framework for reviewing and reporting is based on three review strands. The first relates to school-specific priorities: the quality of education and the impact of individual school policies and practices on student achievement. The second relates to how individual schools perform against defined areas of national interest, whereby information is collected about how Government policies are working in each school. Finally ERO examines compliance with legal requirements: assurance that a school has taken all reasonable steps to meet legal requirements. A site review is made publicly available. The content and recommendations of any report can be material in parental decision making in selecting schools. During the time period covered by this research, two ERO inspections were made to the case study schools and subsequent reports were published in 2005 and 2008. These

audit reports provide an insight into the performance of the school and have both commented on the influence and impact enterprise has had on the case study school.

Other External Relationships

The school has voluntary relationships in place and are usually initiated by specific teachers in furtherance of sporting, cultural or enterprise activities. In the case of the latter, relationships exist with local business groups and regional facilitators of EE, now Core Education, and formerly the CDC. National relationships also exist in terms of the national enterprise provider, YET. Most of these external relationships will be driven by the need for school competitive advantage and accessing quality learning opportunities.

The key relationship which exists at the case study school is with the MoE around regulatory and legislative compliance. This relationship has a direct interface with the Catholic Church and its values. Blessed Edmund Rice provides further refinements to these values.

The case study school represents both a unique and complex environment. A variety of external and internal relationships exist within an overriding special character environment. A sole case study is a suitable vehicle to examine an extraordinary enterprise model. Such an environment provides scope to access the effectiveness of the model and identify and explore the issues of power that are operative within and beyond the case study school.

4.4 Internal Relationships

School Governance

A BoT is elected every three years. Composition includes one staff and several parent representatives. Also present on the BoT are up to five proprietor representatives, pursuant to the *Integration Act* (1975). Provision also exists for one student representative who is elected on an annual basis. The BoT appoints the principal and members of the SMT. BoT members also determine school policy and adherence to matters of special character. Their roles have been further defined by the New Zealand Catholic Education Office (NZCEO):

These include providing quality, effective leadership of schools, equity, quality and excellence in educational outcomes for each student, a Catholic population which is knowledgeable about its faith, well-qualified teachers, and strong partnerships with parish(es) (NZCEO, 2010).

A reality of these internal relationships is the dominant position of proprietors who own school buildings and the land, with the MoE providing funding for operational needs, including teacher salaries. As a result of this relationship, as in all Catholic schools, parents must pay a building levy.

School Student Council

The case study school operates a student council which was established in 2003. Annually, one student is elected from each form class to provide representation. A member of the SMT is present at Student Council meetings, advising and supporting students in decision making (Field Notes: 23/04/2006; 05/04/2008). The Student Council organises fund raising activities, including work days and raffles, and decides how funds will be applied. The Student Council also plans events for one special character week held during the year. This is a unique week each year where all students engage in quizzes, a sports day, shared lunches, haka and singing competitions. All students are divided into one of four college houses who also compete for points with each other during this week at both athletics and swimming sports. Special character traditions are reinforced by rolls on honour being prominently displayed. Reference is constantly made to students being 'Sons of Edmund Rice' and 'Brothers' (Field Notes: 12/10/2007; 6/09/2008).

Senior Management Team

This SMT makes operational decisions affecting day-to-day life at the college. Members of SMT operate a shared leadership model. The group comprises the principal, two deputy principals, a business manager and the director of religious education. The SMT appoints teachers and support staff within the college. Although the BoT is the nominal employer of staff, all employment relationship issues are dealt with by the SMT. Members of the SMT maintain a relationship with the employment advocates and union for teaching staff, the NZPPTA. Members of the SMT must be of Catholic faith and be regularly engaged with their own Catholic parish.

The SMT keep the BoT regularly informed at monthly meetings on operational matters and make recommendations on policy making. An annual strategic plan is agreed between the two with a range of identified management, teaching and learning expectations.

The SMT have a series of integral relationships with the BoT, teaching staff and students, and work within the MoE compliance regime. All these relationships occur within the special character context of the school.

4.5 Sampling Rationale

The selection of the case study sample is inclusive of all the relationships that are pertinent to the enterprise journey. The case study school is student-focused, and therefore capturing this voice was essential. The entire class of student managing directors from YES teams since 2003 have participated in the research and provided responses based on their experience. The research has exploited the passage of time for reflective responses. Responses of former students will be along with those who have recently participated in the YES programme. Since the initial YES programme's success in 2003, compulsory enterprise subjects within the school have been rolled out. Sampling from 2003 onwards allows current students who have experienced compulsory enterprise subjects to provide an additional perspective.

One issue that may arise is why listening to student voices should inform research on policy, power, winners and losers? A better question is perhaps to ask "why not?" Students represent a highly motivated group of participants (De La Ossa, 2005; Hand & Frain, 2002) and the identified enterprise students are no exception. Research suggests that students are capable of providing "valuable information and feedback about programmes and policy effects" (Hand & Frain, 2002 p. 27). Some have argued that students are not generally considered capable of proving explicit details on school policy structure (Fraser & Rentoul, 1982). However, as school policies and structures immediately affect students, they have personal experience and perceptions of both policies as well as structures. De La Ossa (2005) states, "perceptions and beliefs can provide insight that challenges and explicates schools policies and structures" (p. 27). Thus, the student voice is one key to this research; students experience the school and delivered programmes, and are central to the school's existence.

In terms of college voices, those representing governance and operational management are all captured (Wilkinson, 1999), along with the voices of teaching staff, including those who oppose the enterprise culture.

The inclusion of opposition voices to enterprise and acknowledging silences is integral to this study. The voices of opposition, to enterprise education, from teachers are explored along with similar voice from parents. Exploring silences are important along with the voices of non-participating YES students. Are the silences a protest, deliberate non-engagement or disinterest? The question is about this, rather silent, opposition to enterprise culture? If non-participant student, teacher and parent groups have been undemocratically silenced then a better understanding of Freire's and Foucault's approaches to power can be realised (Freire, 1970; Foucault, 1970). Such an approach, with a proactive ascertaining of opposition voice, will also assist in providing data to extend Lukes' three dimensional model of power (Lukes, 1974). In order to understand the rich story of enterprise, around its adoption and practice, the positive and negative voices need to be heard and silences explored (Gershon & Collins, 2007).

This rich story extends to the capture of all business mentors and external organisations including their key public voices on enterprise (McKenna & Richardson, 2003) (see Table 4.1). Due to the special character of the case study site, the captured voices of the Catholic Church and the NZCEO are relevant, and are thus included. National voices needed to be heard to explore issues of training, professional development and workload pressures on teachers as stated by their union, the NZPPTA. The table below describes the groups of participants or stakeholders who are surveyed as part of my research. Alongside each group is an explanation or context as to why they are relevant to this study.

Table 4.1: Interview Participants (By Group)

Groups	Explanation/Context
College proprietors – the Christian Brothers	Governance and material and spiritual ownership of the college
Board of Trustees Members (BoT)	Charged with governance of the college in accordance with the college charter, National Education Guidelines (NEGs), and National Administrative Guidelines (NAGs). Members of this board comprise proprietor representatives, parents, principal, staff representative and student representative
Parents of students, who have expressed, or indicated, opposition to the enterprise culture at the case study school	Parents of students, including YES students, from throughout the college community
Members of the case study school (SMT)	Charged with day-to-day management/operations and pursuing the college strategic plan
Teachers at the case study school (those who teach/facilitate enterprise, within and outside the curriculum)	Responsible to Head of Faculty and SMT for the delivery of the curriculum – its delivery and assessment
Teachers at the case study school (who have expressed or indicated concern about the enterprise culture at the case study school)	Teachers from throughout the college community
Student managing directors who have participated in the YES programme since its introduction in 2003	Student participation is compulsory with regard to some EE at specific levels. They can also elect subjects that deliver enterprise education and/or participate in extracurricular enterprise education
Students, who have not participated in the YES programme but represent and advocate for students at the case study school	Students who have chaired a Student Council: a representative structure for all students at the case study school. Each Student Council is elected annually
Business Mentors (since 2003)	Experienced business practitioners have assisted students in operating an enterprise company
National and regional organisations	Organisations who are facilitators of EE programmes within secondary schools
Young Enterprise Trust (YET)	Staff and trustees and financial supporters provide and support enterprise programmes nationally and internationally
CDC	Staff facilitate the Canterbury regional YES

	training by facilitating student training and events, and provide summative assessment of student/team performance
Organisational-Individual funders of facilitators of enterprise education (regionally and nationally)	These individuals/organisations support the providers in terms of time, expertise and financial resources
Canterbury Employers Chamber of Commerce	A professional advocacy group for business interests who support the college enterprise programmes and contribute nationally to the funding of enterprise programmes
Business New Zealand	National body representing New Zealand business practitioners. The organisation advocates and supports EE
MoE Regional Enterprise Advisor	Responsible for providing school support and development of enterprise within the new curriculum (implementation: 2010)
New Zealand Catholic Church – Catholics Bishops Conference	Provides national governance of the Catholic Church
New Zealand Catholic Education Office, Wellington	Provides support, encouragement and affirmation for New Zealand Catholic schools
NZPPTA	Provides professional and advocacy services to its members, New Zealand secondary teachers
Individuals at a national level who oppose and support EE within New Zealand Secondary Schools	Chairperson of QPEC Former Chairperson Telecom (New Zealand), Former trustee of ENZT, Current YET support council member

By adopting an inclusive sampling approach, the need to engage in ‘snowball-sampling’ is avoided (Kapiriri & Martin, 2007). Although a ‘snow balling’ approach to sampling would ensure a good capture of voices within predetermined classes, limitations exist. The research “does not describe decision-making at the institutional or national levels, which would have provided important contextual information” (Kapiriri & Martin, 2007, p. 51). The current case study research goes beyond this identified limitation to examine decision making at both an institutional level and at regional and national levels.

The technique of purposeful sampling is appropriate when selecting students to participate in interviewing. Such an approach allows openness to surprise but also takes into account that limitations do exist in terms of time and resources. This approach is consistent with that of Patton (2002), who notes that purposeful sampling provides a focus on selecting

information-rich cases that will illuminate the questions under study. Similar approaches were employed when studying effective programmes for families in poverty (Schorr, 1988) and in corporate contexts (Grinyer, Payne & Barbarachild, 2010), patients in need of respite care (Doren et al., 2007) and an educational context (Brennan & McGowan, 2006).

A combination of institutional sampling and purposive sampling was applied. This approach has attempted to reveal a rich picture of EE.

4.6 Data Gathering

Data collection will draw on multiple sources of information to gain the desired depth of understanding. The focus of data gathering will be on collecting material with a view to understanding the power relationships within the college and beyond it. Evidence can come from six sources: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003, p. 83).

Good research adopts three principles of data collection, as identified by Yin (2003). These principles allow the value to be maximised from each source. The first principle is to use multiple sources of evidence, which allows for triangulation to occur (Patton, 1987; Yin, 2003). The second principle is the establishment of a case study database. This consists of two separate collections. Yin (2003) states, “The data-base can then be the subject of separate, secondary analysis, independent of any reports by the original investigator” (p. 101). The third principle is validity construction, which is the need to maintain a chain of evidence. Such an approach allows an external observer to follow the derivations of any evidence, ranging from the initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions, and to trace the steps in either direction. In the final interpretative phase, I report on the meaning of the case, whether that meaning comes from learning about the issue of the case (an instrumental case) or learning about an unusual situation (an intrinsic case). This phase constitutes ‘lessons learned’ from the case (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

By employing triangulation of data sources, examining incidents and themes from different perspectives, and adhering to principles of data collection to ensure data validity, a very clear view of the case study starts to emerge. It is a picture beyond media reports or college

rhetoric of successful enterprise achievements, which reveals a wider vision including both flaws and deficits.

To capture an accurate picture of the case study school and the exercise of power internally and externally, I collected evidence from the following sources:

- documents and archival records
- interviews and participant observation
- direct observation – field notes
- physical artefacts

4.6.1. Documents and Archival Records

Documents and archival records were collected from the case study site, including documents held by regional and national providers, their funders and those opposed to EE. A factor determining document relevance was the degree of insight provided into power relationships and in identifying enterprise winners and losers. Included in this document capture was material provided by the MoE and the New Zealand Catholic Church. Majone (1989) suggests that “policy analysis like dialectic, contributes to public deliberation through, criticism, advocacy, and education” (p. 7). At the school, official documents were accessed (Patton, 1990). These included annual plans, newsletters, BoT reports, external audits into the special character of the college, ERO reports, annual reports to the MoE, college magazines and media articles relating to EE. Promotional brochures, the school website, the college handbook, and the school mission and strategic plan were also accessed to provide evidence (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2002; Lohmeier, 2008). An example of a key focus during this documentation gathering is why YES activities derive a disproportionate amount of attention in excess of other school-based academic, cultural or sporting activities. This approach is affirmed by Bogdan and Biklen (1998) who note that documents provide the researcher an “official perspective and such documents can serve as sources of rich descriptions of how people who produced the materials think about their world” (p. 137). Further examination occurred in relation to formalised communications with parents over the operation of enterprise within the college.

It was necessary to examine what is written, said and done in addition to what is written, done and not said. Such an approach provides a powerful insight into policy. The documents at the case study site provided a rich source of evidence and assisted in data interpretation (Newman, Couturier & Scurry, 2004).

4.6.2. Interviews and Participant Observation

Interviewing as a methodology is a learning process and can be explained in relation to the Kolb model of learning (Harfield, 1997). This model states that learning is a circular process involving concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation (Kolb, 1991). A period between interviews is a time when information from other sources is added to the pool of data, and this addition shapes the succeeding interviews (Brown & Carter, 1985; Hardy, 1985). An ability to listen in a specific fashion is required of the interpretative researcher (Hardy, 1985; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). There is a need to give attention to the speaker, the words, previous interviews, new topics, old theories, new ideas, the setting, and social and political factors. Also required is a skilful knowing that involves seeking out, acquiring and interpreting data at the time of the interview (Kvale, 1996). A semi-structured interview approach can combine all these desirable characteristics and attributes of good data collection.

4.6.3. Semi-Structured Interviewing

In terms of this case study, a semi-structured interview approach was adopted. This decision to employ semi-structured interviewing was made after the consideration of aspects of power and a focus group approach. Patterson et al. (2007) have applied a focus group approach in a high school context with probative results. They noted that, “the emergent and dynamic nature of qualitative design required the plan be flexible as we discovered other participants and avenues of data collection to pursue once in the field” (Patterson et al., 2007, p. 2). This research involved hearing the voices of a large number of stakeholders and was supplemented by personal interviews. Within the current site, a small to medium-sized school, the capture of all voices can be achieved and those beyond it. The lexicon is different to that of Patterson et al. (2007), with the current research focusing on engagement with enterprise programmes as opposed to engagement with the education system.

A semi-structured interview approach allows flexibility. I had the scope to move beyond the standard questions (see Appendix A) to pursue interesting themes and specific responses. Justification of this approach includes an awareness of a power imbalance that exists between participants and me. A semi-structured approach is an effort to give power back to the participant within an overarching aim to employ a robust interpretative approach. Group situations are known to encourage free thought and create open discussions (Krueger & Casey, 2000). However, problems exist regarding group interviews (Flick, 1998). Group interviews can lack direction, important topics can be missed and some participants may fail to make their points. One-to-one semi-structured interviews will not lack direction. Due to the small number of participants and the need to gain rich in-depth responses, group interviews were not practical. I needed to respond to “information as revealed by the participants potentially enabling a deeper understanding of the complexities of the case” (Stake, 1995, p. 20). I needed to be able to be surprised by the results. The “unexpected is expected in interpretative research strategies because research is seen as a process of construction rather than a verifying process” (Harfield, 1997, p. 56). A role for serendipity and luck in social research should also not be underestimated and a semi-structured interview approach provided an opportunity (Dunkerley, 1988).

The combination of multiple sources captured via interviews and document analysis is a feature of case study research within an educational environment (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2002; Hand & Frain, 2002). A further feature is semi-structured interviews (Fox-Parrish & Jurin, 2008; Howley et al., 2008). Since human behaviour is constantly changing, reliability is difficult to implement in the social sciences (Merriam, 1998). A combination approach to data-gathering strategies within an educational context is standard (Lohmeier, 2008).

Figure 4.2 demonstrates a circular model of interviews conducted with stakeholders. The case study school is central and operates within the external boundary/policy barrier of the MoE. Descending inwards from the external boundary are the stakeholders of EE. The focus is the case study school. The figure depicts:

- the case study school (including students, teachers, the SMT, mentors and the BoT)
- regional/national YES facilitation
- national organisations/individuals supportive of EE and those opposed

- New Zealand MoE and the New Zealand Catholic Church (within the MoE boundary)

The case study school inclusive boundary includes BoT representatives, the SMT, enterprise staff and students of enterprise. The local boundary includes college business mentors and local supporters of EE at the case study school, Core Education and CDC—an economic development agency of the Christchurch City Council (the former organisation now facilitates YES in Canterbury and the latter historically held this role). It also includes financial supporters Canterbury Employers, and the Chamber of Commerce. The national boundary includes the case study school proprietors: the Christian Brothers, YET and financial supporters of the YET, NZPPTA and New Zealand National Catholic Bishops Conference. It also includes public voice from national organisations that support and oppose EE. Also included is the MoE, which is responsible for all state and state-integrated education delivered in secondary schools.

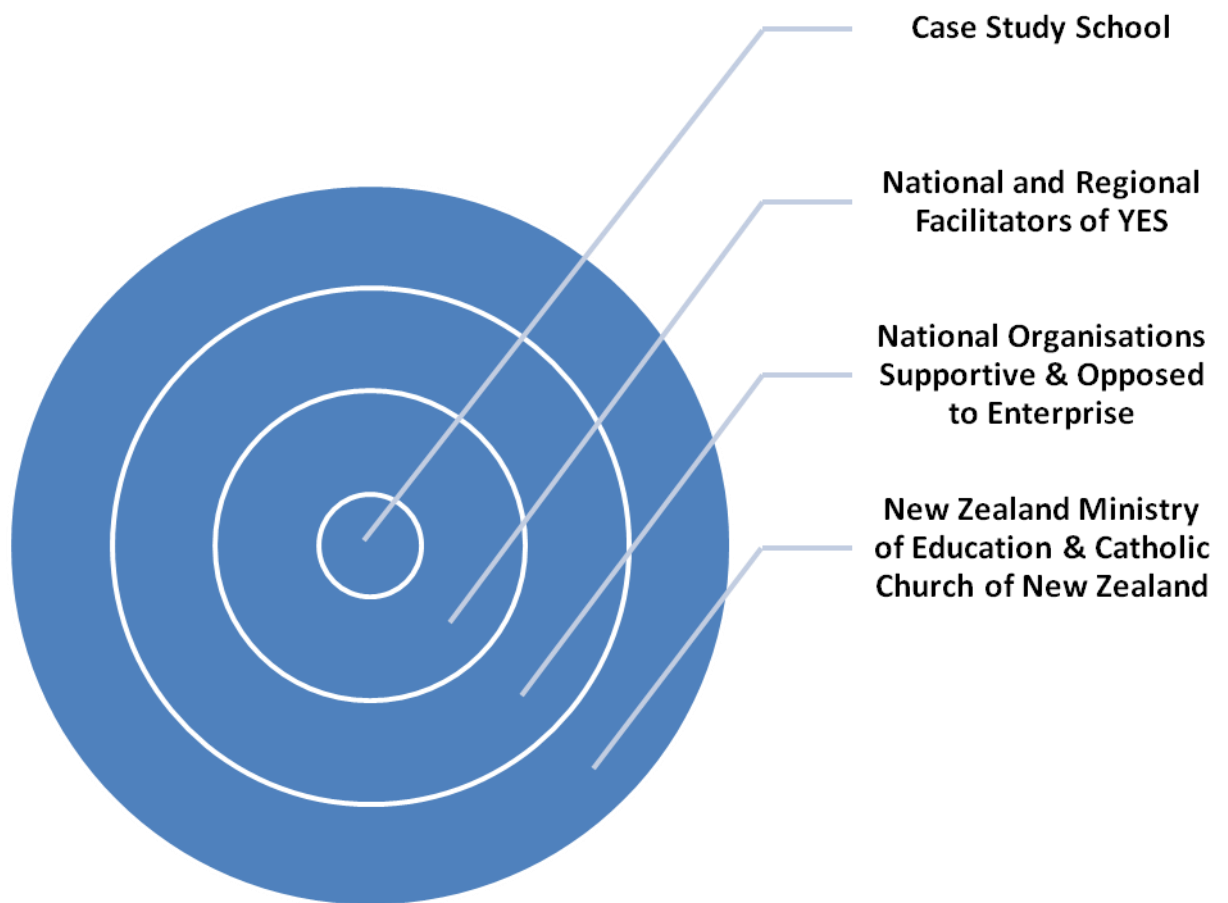


Figure 4.1: Interview Boundaries: Case Study School and Local and National Perspectives

4.6.4. Interview Questions

The interview questions were developed with the view to capturing the interaction between individuals at the school level to a wider focus on regional and national organisations. For example, YES students were asked to describe their relationships, and the nature and complexity of their engagement with non-YES students, teachers, SMT, the regional YES coordinator, and staff at the YET. The interactions hold the key to identifying the capacity for and exercise of power (Lukes, 2005). There exists a generalised series of core questions (see Appendix A), asked of all participants, with the scope to explore any interesting response or personal experience. Core questions were crafted based on literature review

research and results from a pilot exercise with four participants. After the pilot exercise, core questions were refined to ensure they were both robust and comprehensive. An example is a key question asked to all participants for a definition of EE. Defining EE is an area of deliberate or intended confusion (Renwick, 1995). The questions were designed to elicit perspective and the understanding of their individual or organisational involvement in EE. By hearing from the voices within the case study school, including individuals and organisations beyond its gates, a lived experience of EE was gained.

4.6.5. Direct Observation: Field Notes

Field notes were taken over a six-year period from 2004 to 2010. Apart from extraordinary events, field notes were taken on a consistent basis at standard college events including assemblies, staff morning briefings and annual prize giving. An example is the annual college prize-giving (Field Notes: 04/11/2005; 06/11/2006; 07/11/2007). On these occasions, the principal revealed to the college community the plans for the next year and reviewed the enterprise highlights of the past year. An example was in 2004, when the principal presented his annual speech at the annual prize-giving, and referred to the power of the college YES team “punching above its weight” and winning over a prominent local private girls school (Field Note: 04/11/2005). Such direct observation/taking of field notes is common within the secondary school environment (Neis, 2009). These direct observations, made on formal and informal occasions, are used to complement semi-structured, open-ended interviews (Schweinitz et al., 2009). In addition to the ritualistic meetings, field notes were taken of ordinary day-to-day staff and management interaction (Yin, 2003). A similar practice in an education environment was employed by Horn (2011): “writing field notes allowed me to examine the students and the various ways in which they participate in the activities and assignments of class; A researcher creates an accumulating written record of these observations and experiences” (Horn, 2011, p. 30). Direct observations provide rich understandings from an educational environment (Hands, 2008). These site observations provide a constant and consistent source of evidence and were essential to triangulation.

4.6.6. Physical Artefacts

The physical artefacts relating to EE have been mapped and catalogued (Yin, 2003). They include framed photographs in college corridors, trophies won and in place within the college, and artwork commissioned by YES teams to celebrate and record their success. Also recorded are current commissions for future artefacts that have yet to be presented to the college. These artefacts comprise part of the culture of enterprise within the school that are part of the daily realities of students, staff, SMT and visitors. An example is “The Crossing” (2005), by international artist Bing Dawe, funded by the YES team (2005). The position of the artwork is above the principal’s office door to the foyer area (Field Note: 23/10/2006).

4.7 Analysis and Representation

There is a need for openness and a lack of rigidity (Kapuriri & Martin, 2007) when analysing data, especially when research involves a secondary school site (Brennan & McGowan, 2006; Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002). Generally, analysis follows a defined pathway of developing a coding system and then analysis occurs (Creswell, 2007; Patterson et al., 2007). Data is considered according to the theoretical proposition that led to the study (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2002; Yin, 2003).

4.7.1. Classification of Data

The qualitative data was analysed in two ways. First, data analysis consisted of creating numerical counts of frequency for a certain type of response. This involved reading through an entire body of responses, which developed into themes (Pratt, 2008). An example was a reference to Edmund Rice or a social enterprise dimension as a justification for YES participation. Another theme was the desire to have barriers to YES engagement to ensure the programme is not available to all students. Second, similar items were grouped together; for example, when defining EE, I coded responses that mentioned a skill-based profit-making activity, social enterprise activity, risk-taking initiative or reference to national economic survival.

I analysed data in an iterative fashion, travelling back and forth between data and emerging themes (Locke, 1996; Pratt, 2008). First, I began by open-coding the data to better understand how participants viewed EE. These codes included teacher barriers, SMT intervention (positive and negative), and media publicity, student status within the school, non-decision making, enterprise celebration and role modelling. Each transcript was read several times as recommended by Agar “to immerse [myself] in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts” (Agar, 1980, p. 25). As a result, categories and themes emerged. Phrases and sentences were highlighted when they discussed various themes and were later grouped together under broader headings or categories. Common statements were used to form provisional categories and first order codes (Malterud, 2001). Categories were then consolidated and became more theoretical and more abstract. Relevancy of data was linked to the value it added to an understanding of the power relationships within and outside the case study. Next, information was classified into meaningful units or common categories (Cote, et al. 1995). The grouped categories were then transposed into themes using the variables of interaction (Brunelle, Drouin, Godbout, & Tousignant, 1988). Second, once theoretical categories were generated, I looked for ways that the categories related to each other. I kept these relationships in mind as I revised the data to see whether and how they fit (Locke, 2001). Themes appeared by approaching issues of power and winners and losers from different perspectives.

Field notes and documents complemented the interview data by providing practical evidence to reinforce and validate the voices of participants. By using multiple sources of evidence, the study developed converging lines of inquiry to achieve validity and data triangulation (Patton, 2002). Data triangulation involves looking at specific incidents and themes to seek to confirm the significance or importance from three different data perspectives. The current research pursued this course of analysis and interpretation across all data types collected with a view to realising triangulation. An example was the positive influence enterprise had on new school enrolments. This was evidenced by entry interviews of parents of new students who identified key characteristics of the school (Field Notes: 23/10/2007; 02/04/2009), media reports, college newsletters, school enrolment statistics, promotional material including the prospectus (Field Note: 03/05/2007). This data was confirmed by all participant groups identified in Table 4.2 (see above).

4.8 Standards of Validation and Evaluation

Triangulation forms a basis of good research. Triangulation is the identification of incidents and themes analysed and evidenced from different data sources. To support this approach, a good process of validation and evaluation was required. Rather than using the term ‘validation’, the term ‘credibility’ of qualitative research has been employed (Eisner, 1991). I sought recurring examples of behaviours or actions, and considered disconfirming evidence and contrary interpretations (Creswell, 2007). Of importance are “critical elements” and their “plausible interpretations” (Wolcott, 1990). Validation provides a distinct strength in qualitative research. Validation is employed to emphasise a process rather than verification, which has quantitative overtones (Augen, 2000). Historical terms such as ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘authenticity’ recognise that many qualitative writers do return to words such as ‘authenticity’, ‘credibility’ and ‘staying power’ (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Whittemore, Chase & Mandle, 2001). However, deconstructed validation can be translated as a need to progress towards a credible research result.

In an education case study context, Doren et al. (2007) employed a multiple method approach, multiple sources and multiple perspectives. A triangulation strategy increases the validity and reliability of findings (Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach & Richardson, 2005; Patton, 2002). The approach embraces a standard that qualitative research is believable, accurate and represents the stakeholder’s voices (Eich, 2008). To capture the voices of EE and put them through a rigorous process is an acknowledgement and recognition of the collective value of their contribution.

Validation strategies require the need for engagement and building trust with participants. It also involves learning the culture of a case study and checking for misinformation that stems from distortions introduced by the researcher or informants (Creswell, 2007).

Transferability, along with validation, is a defining feature of good qualitative research. Within a changed national context of enterprise, the transferability of findings from the case study school to another is a very real possibility. Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) noted the “initial selection of the most innovative and progressive schools” (p. 261) will ensure a shared benefit to others. Where there is cutting edge research, it can act as a means of

enhancing the transferability of findings beyond the time span of the data collection. When “research focuses on new or innovative practices; it can provide early indications of the issues to be dealt with, and overcome in implanting those practices in the future” (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002, p. 261). The study of EE is cutting edge, as viewed through a sole case study school. It hopes to assist in naming a new phenomenon and its implications.

4.9 Ethics: What I Did and Why

During a process of reflection, I identified ethical issues that needed to be addressed:

- The need for reflexivity in education research
- my own role as ambiguous insider and outsider
- who can this research affect, positively and negatively?
- protection of anonymous site and participants
- ethical consideration in sampling choices.

During the initial research process, I continually deliberated about the value of EE and my role in it. These reflections occurred with the knowledge this was an extraordinary case study of a special character school and that, as an insider, I had a unique opportunity to document EE phenomena. By the time I came to this research I was ambiguous about EE. Was it a negative or positive experience for students, the college and society? My dual role as a researcher and facilitator of EE generated perpetual warning signals of a close and, at times, uncomfortable connection. I was a champion and promoter of EE and this may have sent a signal to research participants that I was biased. Such a situation created an ambiguous role. To one group of participants, I was a disciple of EE, to another group, a beacon of hope, and yet another group possibly a sleeping death cell within EE. Such role ambiguity may have influenced the data collected and those agreeing to participate. A possibility of bias existed. However, through reflexivity, justification of actions, and clear and transparent processes, I have sought to reduce bias. By not been rushed and creating a setting of my personal indifference to enterprise. All participants were aware my formalised involvement was now historic. While facilitating EE I always adopted the position of being indifferent and actively encouraged critique. This position resulted in very rich and open responses. And included in the research were voices to which it was at

times difficult to listen.

4.9.1. Insider research in an Educational Environment

Self-reflections were a feature of similar research carried out in an educational environment by Govers (2011). Clear advantages were identified in terms of the research: participants knowing the researcher (Bassey, 1999) and a full knowledge of “all layers of the organisation” (Govers, 2011, p. 9). The disadvantages identified included my dual role, which had ethical implications relating to a previous but perhaps still operative position of power. I was formerly a teacher and senior member of staff. Former and existing students regularly approached me for references for tertiary scholarship, employment, and even good-character checks for rental accommodation. A network of former enterprise mentors and business supporters had evolved over a number of years. The SMT and I were points of reference or connection within this nexus. All former YES students were in some way connected to this nexus of relationships. A further ethical consideration was identified: a risk that participants would be reluctant to disclose certain information because they were unable to oversee the consequences (Gibbs & Costley, 2006). These ethical issues were dealt with by closely monitoring the relationships with participants (colleagues) for signs of tension, and offering assurances of confidentiality. Where this occurred I would not push, for example one participant was reluctant to comment on the issue of school hall usage and conflicts with YES events. As the school community was small any adverse comment on conflicting bookings would reveal their identified teacher (Teacher J). Also these issues were all explicitly identified to participants and clarified in verbal conversations and research information sheets. An example was the use of anonymous referencing for participants, so as the numbers grew a greater degree of confidentiality and non-identification was assured. A clear theme evident in Govers (2011) was the self-reflections, a clear awareness of the possibility of biases, and clear strategies adopted to manage these ethical research issues. These strategies took the form of reflections prior to and after each interview reinforcing confidentiality, and the purpose of information gathering. The role of the researcher was clearly identified as being open to surprise. This practice was reinforced by information sheets made available well in advance of each interview and also reviewed prior to each interview and signed off as having been fully understood at the conclusion of each interview.

4.9.2. Need for Reflexivity in Education Research

Self-deliberations over ethical issues in the research process required an underlying commitment to reflexivity. Reflexivity is one of the central pillars of ‘critical’ qualitative research (Fontana & Frey, 2004; Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009). Such an approach is important in educational research (Greenbank, 2003). Any moral values held on EE will have an important role in determining research ethics. Moral values do not operate in a vacuum (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). There is the overriding “need to protect the interests of research participants were set against the desire to be honest and open in publishing the findings of their research” (Greenbank, 2003, p. 797). A teacher observed firsthand how NCLB policies affected the empowerment of students and teachers:

A tension I experienced was how I was shaping the ‘authentic’ voices of my participants. Surely, I was making their words central to the research, but I was in charge of deciding what words were and were not used and how they were contextualized within the research. Even though I called upon the participants to check the accuracy of my data-collection, this tension was a dilemma that was not solved, but at best managed throughout the research. (Horn, 2011, p. 29)

In attempting to reconcile such dilemmas, cost-benefit analysis or utilitarian ethics have been advocated (Berg, 2001; Cohen & Manion, 1994). The practical application of such methods is problematic because the costs and benefits of research are virtually impossible to forecast with any certainty. Moreover, the weightings of different factors involve value judgements. Humphreys’ (1970) study of casual homosexual activity (cited by Kimmel, 1978) involved deception and it violated individual rights to privacy. The research was nevertheless praised by the gay community because it dispelled some of the stereotypes about homosexual behaviour (Kimmel, 1978). There were those who argued that the policy changes resulting from the research justified the approach adopted by Humphreys (see Berg, 2001). While these represent critiques of a piece of research carried out retrospectively, it can nevertheless be seen how value judgement plays an important role in evaluating the costs and benefits of research (Greenbank, 2003, p. 797). In justifying their research methods, researchers attempted to provide rational explanation for their actions.

During the research I made the following value judgements. I acknowledged the need to

protect the interests of participants but, as asserted by Greenbank (2003), I needed to be honest and open in publishing the findings of the research. This need for balance has not been solved but proactively managed during my research (Horn, 2011). These value judgments influenced my research choices. I need to tell the whole story by capturing the widest possible number of research participants. Further, by focusing on the philosophies and practices at a single case study school, which was the nationally acknowledged leader of EE, a full story could be told. This story would have value learning lessons, positive and negative, for other schools as they also managed this new phenomenon.

4.9.3. Reflexivity Data Gathering

My self-reflections resulted in a robust data gathering process. Underlying these deliberations was my role as an insider. A clear decision was made to employ reflexivity. In the context of educational research, a researcher's relationship with the environment and potential influence on participants and data is an important factor (Primeau, 2003; Reed & Proctor, 1995). A definition is formed showing reflexivity as a continuous process of reflection by a researcher of their values, preconceptions, behaviour or presence and those of the participants, which can affect the interpretation of responses (Parahoo, 2006). An example was my thoughts and actions around the collection of data from former colleagues who were non-supporters of EE. I explored the possibility of covert mechanisms of data gathering in order to secure participation. Such a practice would go against the open and transparent nature of my research and provide a differentiated practice as amongst research participants. I decided on an open and honest approach which was rewarded with good cooperation. A further example of reflexivity of approach was going back to student participants and asking for the perspectives of their family around YES engagement. This further engagement was triggered by a few responses which indicated a further level of richness which was also accessed against parental responses. It provided a useful triangulation technique. In sum, reflexivity involves acknowledgment by the researcher that they are part of the social world under study. A process of awareness is used to separate personal views and preconceptions from the enterprise phenomenon under study. Bracketing requires reflexive thinking: "a matter of peeling layers of interpretation" (Knaack, 1984, p. 103).

A research epistemology of a case study, multiple sources and semi-structured interviews

were also employed by Jootun and McGhee (2006). These authors examined the relationship between teachers and students as participants. To elicit social meaning of actions, I sought understanding of how participants perceive the phenomenon of enterprise (Schazaman & Straus, 1973). I made a concerted effort to focus on student and stakeholder experience through a wider range of participants from each group, a diversity of stakeholder groups, active listening and good questioning. As a researcher, I needed to identify and acknowledge my beliefs and separate them from those of the participants (Manias & Street, 2001). At every opportunity throughout my research I consistently referred to my neutral status with respect to enterprise. When facilitating enterprise it was part of my paid employment role and I was neutral or had no predetermination with respect to findings. I wanted to tell a collective story. There is an acknowledged risk of becoming enmeshed with participants, which can create difficulties in separating experiences. Retaining a measure of objectivity is also required (Dowell, Storey & Gleason, 1994). Such an approach will assist with data being placed in a wider context (Dowding, 2006), notwithstanding the need to bracket this impact in the data collection.

4.9.4. I Found My Own Role Ambiguous

As a researcher, I portrayed an ambiguous role. I once championed and promoted EE at the case study school. This former position was used to gain access to research participants and material. Such a position created oscillating self-reflections around values and potential misrepresentation. However, I had an overwhelming goal of telling an extraordinary story of an enterprise journey.

The enterprise journey undertaken by the school is a 'revelatory case'. I had an opportunity to observe and analyse the phenomenon of EE, previously inaccessible to investigation. This included being part of the daily life within the college, such as attending staff briefings, assemblies, graduations, YES meetings with students, mentors, community partners and being party to collegial conversations and the rituals of enterprise. A famous case study of Liebow (1967) provided such an approach. Liebow's observations and insights into the problem of unemployment formed a significant case study because few social scientists previously had the opportunity to investigate the phenomenon. There was an opportunity to examine a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientists, which is revelatory in nature.

Clearly, the position I formerly held was material when participants were approached. Some participants may have agreed to participate in the research on the assumption the research would be celebratory in nature. It was hoped this potential issue was addressed by good processes and crafted questions (see Appendix A). As previously mentioned I constantly reiterated my purpose, at each research opportunity, to tell a unique story of EE at the case study school free of any predetermination. The research consent form and questions were explicitly developed to negate any assumption of bias. During each introductory meeting with participants and prior to the beginning of each interview, explicit reference was made about the scope of the research. It is reasonable to expect participants in the circumstances would realise aspects of the research may be critical or reveal some negative aspects of EE. An explicit and open strategy was employed. In my self-reflections, a covert strategy was considered that would have involved each participant being retrospectively debriefed and informed about the actual purpose of the research process. Such an approach would involve risk. Research can harm subjects who remain unaware or who show no noticeable immediate effects (Cassell, 1982).

Whatever their previous status, researchers become special members of communities they observe (Herrera, 1999). “If the researcher’s presence in the group is truly based on values that the group members share, and the researcher’s behaviour is indistinguishable from the groups, why resort to covert methods?” (Herrera, 1999, p. 338). The same reasoning applies to the claim that researchers can deduce that to which subjects tacitly consent. If cues are so trustworthy, why not openly offer the consent form? (Cassell, 1982). On balance, the adoption of a covert or hidden research design had no clear advantage in terms of potential results. With the development of such a design, the researcher needs to be sure that the data obtained from a study could not have been obtained via any other means (van Deventer, 2009). From the beginning of this research, it was clear most relevant data could be realised by a design that was overt about the purpose of the research.

4.9.5. Who Can this Research Affect, Positively and Negatively?

All stakeholder participants in this research had a potential risk of being advantaged or disadvantaged by this research. This is a very clear possibility given the controversial nature of the research being undertaken. Despite the risks of participation, all stakeholders

approached agreed to participate. All participants were directly or indirectly involved in a unique journey of an enterprise school and the research could potentially affect each participant and organisation. However, in the agreement to participate, power itself may have played an ambiguous role. Further, having BoT and SMT support provided a credibility that may have been material in others agreeing to participate in the research.

One clear risk that exists for all public voices of an organisation is potential damage to its reputation. This can result in funding implications and staff performance issues for each organisation. Potentially the greatest risk for participants is a perception, which could be confirmed or rejected, that in some way young students have been manipulated to secure individual career or organisational advancement. Given the nature of the research, such an outcome is a clear risk. Alternatively, the research may reveal a model that is celebratory. This outcome would positively affect individuals and organisations associated with EE. An attempt to address the issue is made by ensuring the provision of good information and a transparent research process. A sustained effort was employed in an attempt to weigh up the probative value of voices as against the prejudicial effect of voices. However in the end it was still decided to embargo this thesis for two years because of potential disadvantage to the case study school, including student enrolments, damage to external relationships, some of which involve funding and many based on the special character. Many of the research participants are still involved with the school as teachers, BoT members, SMT, parents, or are brothers of siblings still at the school. One organisation that is potentially at significant risk of being negatively affected is the case study school. In a competitive education environment, a school's reputation and media profile is of value. Although the school has unique characteristics and has achieved success in the field of EE, efforts have been made to ensure its identity is protected. While no misrepresentation occurred in terms of the nature and scope of the research, the risk was still seen as too great, particularly as in a small country such a case study can easily be identified.

The research involved conducting 90 interviews. These were completed at the case study school, in the central business districts of Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland. The voices captured include those who support EE at a regional and national level. Also captured were voices of those who have raised concerns about EE in the public arena. The net extended to the college SMT, teachers, BoT members and Catholic Church and its education leadership. The leaders or 'public voice' of organisations that both advocate and

critique EE were captured. An ethical approach demands a wide capture of all voices at every level within and outside the case study site. The voices heard were both positive and negative. By engaging in extensive and comprehensive interviewing, an attempt was made to balance positive and negatives voices to assist in answering the research questions.

4.9.6. Access to Secondary Material

A key ethical issue involved ascertaining the true awareness of those who managed and governed the case study school of their understanding of the nature of the research (van Deventer, 2009). As a researcher, I was aware there was scope for decisions being made based on misrepresentation or incorrect assumptions.

The case study site provided a richness of secondary material. Access to the site presented an ethical issue. All information was made available, or the capacity to access it was provided. Due to the busy nature of a school environment, and the trust which existed between myself and the SMT, there were never any limits or checks imposed on the collection of any secondary material. However, through a number of discussions, formal and informal, prior to the research been undertaken, both SMT and BoT were aware of the nature and scope of research. Members of the SMT and BoT also agreed to participate as individuals in the research, which suggests another level of awareness. It is acknowledged that a high degree of goodwill onsite did allow access to letters and memoranda over and above what would have been publicly available. An example is confidential and contradictory memoranda from the principal to students (File Note: 13/12/2006). Due to ethical concerns I did not access enterprise student personal files. In some cases these would have contained copies with proactive and positive references for students, used to obtain placement in employment, universities and provision of scholarships. These references would have provided a rich source of triangulation and indicated the emphasis placed on enterprise as compared to other student activities, including academic results, by the SMT. Further, there was a genuine willingness from members of the SMT and BoT to share with others the operation of a social enterprise model that had emerged and an acknowledgment that mistakes had been made. Perceived and real limitations often required explanation and justification to visitors to the college (Filed Notes: 23/09/2006; 12/03/2009). These explanations were both honest and reflective. There was and remained

a willingness to share. Schools, including the case study school, are relatively transparent institutions with a wide range of external compliance responsibilities and accountabilities. A process was adopted in which fully informed consent was provided by the SMT and the BoT for site access to secondary material.

4.9.7. Protection of Anonymous Site and Participants

Throughout the research process, there was continual mindfulness of the special character of the case study school and the dynamic between school competitions. The competitive nature existing within education means a school's reputation is material to enrolments and ongoing employment of both teaching and support staff at a school (Thrupp et al., 2007; Wylie, 1995). It is both reasonable and responsible to take measures to protect the anonymity of the school so it is not disadvantaged through this research. To protect the identity of the school, no reference to its name, nor the town in which it is based, is made. However, due to the small world of enterprise and the small country that is New Zealand, this research will still be embargoed for a two-year period from public release. These measures will adequately protect the case study school from its identity becoming known, and from any immediate fallout that might result from this work.

Individual participants were also provided anonymity. Each person is referred to as part of a general stakeholder voice with a specific alphabetical letter attached. It would be difficult to identify an individual voice in most circumstances, as there were a number of voices from various organisations.

4.9.8. Ethical Consideration of the Sample Choice

Ethical considerations were in place for the protection of all participants agreeing to contribute to this research. There was a pathway of openness adopted to avoid ambiguity or misrepresentation. An overt research design (van Deventer, 2009) and pathway for ensuring genuine consent were pillars of this open pathway. The first approach to research participants was informal, which was followed up by a formal letter of invitation and consent form. There was a minimum of three weeks between the initial contact and the formal invitation to participate. At both points of contact, I provided a clear understanding about the research questions and nature and scope of the research. Prior to interviewing

each participant, there was a further discussion around the nature and scope of the research and questions. For each participant a discussion would begin with open-ended questions of “can you tell me about your journey with respect to EE, and from your perspective what were the highs and lows, advantages and disadvantages?” (Teacher A & B; Student A & B; BoT Members A & B). Participants understood that the research was not an exercise in affirmation of EE or the case study school. Voluntarily participation was a key feature of the research process along with participants being aware of their ability to withdraw at any stage. With a large and diverse range of participants, this was essential “if the participant later deemed the research to encroach into his/her private life” (van Deventer, 2009, p. 48). Sustained efforts were made to ensure processes were free from coercion or exercise of undue influence. Efforts were made to ensure all participants knew they were part of an investigation into the phenomenon of EE. I hoped the formal consents provided were genuine and voluntary in nature.

Once consent was provided, participants were asked to engage in a semi-structured interview for up to 90 minutes in duration. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Transcripts were returned to participants for review and correction of any errors of fact or omission. Any additional information or explanations could then be provided.

The commitment to keeping information confidential throughout this research was essential. Any research into EE will be controversial, specifically at the case study school. There has been no similar research undertaken. In order to make the research relevant and to share the exceptional story of enterprise, a balanced approach to information is used. Such an approach meets the need for confidentiality and makes the research relevant in a national context.

4.9.9. School Student Participants (Superficially)

Despite an open design, in any act of data collection there still remains an issue that a power imbalance exists between student participants and me as researcher (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). They suggest such information is ‘dangerous knowledge’ that is political and risky for an ‘inside’ investigator. The question of bias and power imbalance was addressed by Brennan and McGowan (2006). The authors looked at a case study on the

promotion of entrepreneurship within a university setting in which the researchers were employed. The methodology acknowledged the unique practical considerations of the authors' involvement. It was noted that given the 'how' nature of the research questions and the focus on a contemporary event(s), a single case study methodology can be justified (Yin, 2003).

Similarly, in the research of Coghlan (2001), a discussion occurred relating to conducting research in one's own organisation. It was noted that insider researchers have many advantages. Despite the need for awareness, that one already knows all the answers (Bjorkman & Sundgren, 2005); similar research has been employed within a secondary school context (De La Ossa, 2005). It would appear the existing power imbalance of an insider holding power and conducting the research would not be prejudicial to student participants.

Despite formalised permission by the school and previous research justification, caution was constantly exercised when engaging students. This group included four students then aged 16 to 17 years of age. There was a need to convey fairness, transparency and genuine consent to this group, which was a key feature of the research design. As with other stakeholder participants, individual consent forms were completed by these students. Further, the parent(s) or caregivers of the students also completed a consent form. A discussion occurred with all parent(s) in the presence of each student before the parental consent was signed. Questions asked by parents included, "would participation be detrimental to my son" (Parent B); "how would it advantage my son" (Parent D); "who would read the final research" (Parent G). A very different question was asked by Parent H, "will YET take back my son's national award if they find out how much the school assisted the team in securing it". In all cases I referred each parent back to the information sheet which provided clear direction and guidance on all questions raised. All student interviews were conducted onsite at the case study school with the full knowledge and consent of the college principal. After interviews were completed, students, as with adult participants, were given a copy of the transcribed interview to make corrections or add further information. At no stage was I attracted to the belief that research without the consent of parents can occur when there is no more than minimal risk and when adolescents are mature minors (Levine, 1995). There were unacceptable risks attached to such an approach that would have breached codes of ethics in place at the case study

school. I hoped the procedures and mechanism put in place were robust and exceeded the minimum recommendations provided by Hughes and Gutkin (1995). These recommendations included formal notifications, consent from and information to parents and anonymity of the participants. In terms of student participation, respectful robust consent processes were applied.

4.10 Conclusion

Self-reflections were constant, and eventually concluded in what is hoped to be a formation of robust methodological process. Underlying these reflections was an awareness of my role as an insider. Reflexivity was essential in providing a clear, mediated understanding of agreed principles. Efforts were made to achieve an ethical balance, to promote intellectual freedom and contribute to the knowledge of society (through fair treatment of research subjects). Efforts were made to ensure an outcome could be realised without endangering the organisations or individuals involved in the research. These principles were employed in adopted research practice and are ethically justified.

The research roadmap involved careful consideration of ethical issues, justification for decisions taken and the identification of a clear process. Such a roadmap will assist in leading to an identification of those who possess influence and power in terms of EE.

4.11 Chapter Summary

A case study approach provides a mechanism that captures the values, power and uniqueness of a learning environment. The case study environment is that of a special character integrated school. The school is exceptional both in terms of being a model enterprise school and having practices that occur on a day-to-day basis to support this status. The school is symbolic of tensions existing in the wider community and corporate world of reconciling business practice with social enterprise. The school's nature requires a considered approach in terms of sampling rationale and data gathering. A wide range of voices, from within and outside, have been identified and selected to capture the phenomenon of enterprise, which give it expression in terms of both policy and practice. Ethical considerations were always operative and given expression in terms of data-gathering practice and procedures. A very real risk of research bias existed, and concerted

efforts were employed in mitigation. What emerged was an extraordinary story of a school that adopted an enterprise journey. I was in a unique position to tell the story, listen to the voices of the participants, and evaluate the voices to tell a mirror story of both power and policy.

Presentation for All Data Chapters

The data chapters are structured with the aim of letting the participants speak for themselves, while at the same time bringing enough order so that the reader does not get lost in all the different voices.

With some variation, each participant group's voice is presented in a similar format. Variation occurs where themes have not emerged across all different groups of participants. Examples include framing of language, marketing and media attention. The data presentation broadly follows the order in which the questions were asked. Initially all participants groups were asked to provide a definition of EE followed by outlining their impression of the enterprise journey: highlights, low points and memorable episodes. This is followed by a participant group section relating to the case study school, including its values and role of the SMT. Next the views of groups are recorded with respect to student ease of access to the YES at the case study school. Next, we look at the different perspectives on the role of the facilitators of EE who are material to the operation of YES. Finally, a section for mentors is provided, as they are integral to YES operations.

Next the data chapters report on the wider content in which EE takes place. A wider focus is provided for examination around the influence of business on education generally and specifically to the case study school.

An integral section common to all participants' groups is the identification of winners and losers deriving from EE. In each data chapter this is followed by an interpretative section. Thus rather than interpreting all the data at the end, each voice is interpreted through Lukes' model of power to gain an understanding of the voice of each participant group. This enables the reader to more clearly see how the interpretations emerge from the data. These interpretations are summarised in chapter 15 where their contributions to theory and practice are discussed.

Chapter 5

Student Voices of Enterprise Education

5.1 Introduction

The student voice provides an integral insight into EE. All student participants were CEO's of YES companies over a seven year period, with the last student performing the role in 2010. Therefore, students have had time to reflect (Fontana & Frey, 2004; Greenbank, 2003) on both their individual and team journeys. The findings report on the extent to which there is a collective definition of enterprise, on the student selection processes, the student experience, their views on teachers, and student thinking around the created media profile. The YES student perceptions of winners and losers are also integral to this chapter which finishes with an interpretation of the student voices through Lukes (2005).

5.2 Definition of Enterprise

Students were unable to express a consistent definition for enterprise (Coffield, 1990; Hayward, 1998; Lewis, 2005; Lewis & Massey, 2003; Renwick & Gray, 2001). All students did acknowledge a requirement for profit as a core value of enterprise. Seven participants referred to risk taking with three referring to commitment as a driver of enterprise. However, all students used the term 'enterprise' in a proactive context with terms such as 'innovation', 'thinking outside the square' and 'managing resources' in order to realise profits. Four students referred to social enterprise in their definition but then provided different interpretative responses as to what it meant. For example "social enterprise is a nuisance for greater publicity" (Student B), and "it is doing business differently with compassion" (Student D). One student made explicit reference to ethical business where "enterprise is being creative, industrious and doing so honestly, fairly and to the betterment of everyone involved" (Student F). Despite attempts to define enterprise, no consistent definition was provided apart from a requirement for profit.

One theme that emerged during the exploration of student definitions for enterprise was the gaining of individual skills and competences (Bradford, 2003). These included "teaching students the necessary skills to solve a problem and to create a product or service" (Student

H) and “time management skills” (Student I). All students made a link between EE and building on knowledge delivered within existing classes. Specific links were deemed necessary “between the accounting department and YES teams” (Student I). A similar request was made in relation to the technology department for design support: “enterprise and technology are like Batman and Robin” (Student D); and the English department was noted for supporting business and report writing techniques (Student J). There existed a collective belief about enterprise that needs to be integrated into existing curriculum areas. Enterprise was identified as a touchstone, with other subjects being seen as complementary or feeding off its unique status. One student referred to enterprise being at the heart of the school (Student I).

5.3 Student Selection Process

In order for a student to participate in YES, a non-transparent selection process is undertaken (Students A & I). A YES student noted “it wasn’t easy getting selected for a YES team. It required thought, persistence and playing politics” (Student C). Selection occurs at the end of each year to allow students time to plan. However, there were occasions when either individual students or parents expressed interest to members of the SMT or the YES teacher about participation (Field Notes: 06/11/2006; 04/06/2008; 23/09/2010). SMT decision making was variable. Sometimes there were objective criteria including predictive and existing academic grades, school rule compliance, exceptional speaking skills, but other times “random choices” (Student B). There were two years when student participant decisions were based solely on race, as the college sought to pursue national Maori and Pacifica awards in those years (Field Notes: 10/12/2007; 01/11/2009). The pursuit of these awards coincided with pending ERO inspections, ongoing marketing needs of the college and the need to show inclusiveness of the social enterprise model. In sum, a non-transparent process of student selection was in place with hidden and pragmatic criteria.

Once selection was made, students were provided with an invitation by the principal to participate in the scheme (Field Notes: 01/12/2008; 06/02/2009). No student ever declined. It was a privilege and honour to be selected. A YES student noted “others don’t understand the commitment and skills required; we are a different group of students, and we are

selected, special and elite” (Student B). After a student is selected a consent form is completed, as proactive parental commitment was a condition of participation.

5.4 Student Experience

Students referred to benefits resulting from YES participation. Three students noted involvement building up future careers. Over half of the students had participated in additional opportunities that were derived from their initial YES involvement. These opportunities have included participation in the National Global Enterprise Challenge, successive trips to Beijing for International Enterprise Fairs and winning scholarships to NZ universities. Participation in YES had provided students with diverse learning opportunities and experiences.

In terms of personal benefit and motivation for YES participation, all students made a clear linkage with career development and university studies (Bradford, 2003; Watt, 2002). Status and privilege afforded to YES students, post-2004, within the college community was also identified as a key motivation. Student E reported, “after the national success of StopCom (2004), any YES student was to be revered”. In terms of engagement, all responses were made in a positive context: “the personal benefit to me was very high as participation in YES guided my decision making on which degree to study at university” (Student J). A further benefit identified was an appreciation of business culture. It was reported that a YES student gained a “unique insight into the way business works, the rules change, the language you use and how you talk to them” (North & South, 2005, p. 64). Apart from learning opportunities, another motivation for participation was the simple thrill of winning. This was not the case with students who participated in the YES scheme in 2004, but was a clear motivator for those who followed. One YES student stated:

Bottom line, I wanted to be successful in it and that was what drove me; however, we ended up being far more successful than I could have imagined. My main goal was to win the Canterbury Regional Award to get a trip to Wellington and a night for free in a hotel. Funny but true. (Student I)

After initial YES success, a clear theme emerged of individual advancement and status as operative motivators for all student participants: “it would look very good on my

curriculum vitae and I wish to study towards commerce in the future so it will help” (Student H) (Lewis, 2005). This view was reinforced on two school career days when an advisor at a careers assembly made a clear link between YES participation and good future prospects (Field Notes: 14/08/2006; 02/09/2008). A clear picture emerges of student’s motivation for YES participation to win awards, gain status within the college, and achieve career advancement.

The personal experiences and skills identified by students, derived from participation, are recorded annually. An annual report is required by all YES teams that includes a reflection statement as to the value of the programme. An element of duress exists in these student accounts as marking for national awards is based on them. All reflections were positive and of a similar nature: “the YES scheme has been a fantastic introduction to the world of business” (Comet Technologies, 2006, p. 15) and “taking part in YES has been an amazing opportunity” (Urban Warriors, 2007, p. 15). These responses are similar, with little variance, and reflect instructional practice. A slightly different response was provided by the YES team of 2009. The wording of appreciative students exists but with a more authentic tone, with reference to relationships and clarity around expectations:

During meetings we learnt to ask assistance from one another. This was necessary because we realised we did not have the collective skills to achieve our present objectives. We approached firms and people for support and exploited our student status. We never forgot to say thank you: that was important for ongoing assistance. (Decibel Control Systems [DCS], 2009, p. 19)

This account reveals a technique of thanking people, and showcases a level of manipulation that other teams are silent on. Student annual reports provide a unique insight into YES. A consistency of approach is identified. A requirement for only positive responses exists and public affirmation students have acquired business skills and competencies (Macfarlane & Tomlinson, 1993).

5.4.1. Positive and Negative YES Moments

Students, in their interviews, refer to positive moments during the YES journey. For all students, winning was identified as a defining moment of participation. These moments focused on both regionals and the national awards. One student noted “the best moment

was standing on that stage in Wellington accepting the award for YES Company of the Year (2004)” (Student I). Others referred to meeting influential and powerful people, including “Helen Clark (Prime Minister) and Don Brash (Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition): it was supreme” (Student J). These significant moments were often captured by the media. It would appear that winning had overshadowed some of the wider expressed goals of working towards societal solutions with community partnerships, and reaching out to marginalised groups in the community.

In contrast, negative experiences from YES journeys were also recorded. These experiences centred on workload, adverse responses of third parties and interventions of the former principal: “I was working through the night and only just making the deadline” (Student I), and “I was stressed at times due to late product delivery, lack of participation and effort from all team members at all times” (Student C). Another student cited an incident occurring during market research. When “visiting the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), I was met with rude and disgusting aggressive behaviour from its elected officials” (Student A). Other negative experiences referred to the former principal. These related to unwelcomed micromanagement of students in operating their companies:

He intervened in the general running of the company demanding to know where the money was going. He brought us back down when we were so high and maybe he made us feel like we didn’t deserve to be there without him. That was a bit of a downer (Student G).

One year, the former principal called YES students to instruct them to continue with their commercial operation the following year; as a shareholder he required a return on his investment (File Note: 13/12/2006). One student recalled the YES programme could be used to skive: “we would have a business meeting but maybe we wouldn’t come back as fast as we could” (Student D). It was noted, “nothing could happen to us because we did YES. We took time off (school) and a little financial misappropriation was also engaged in” (Student D). Students appear to operate outside school rules. Identified negative experiences included workload requirements of YES, the intervention of the former principal, and a student incident of negative feedback. All of the incidents indicate the power and influence of enterprise existing at the college.

5.4.2. Student perceptions of the promotion of successful YES companies

Since the beginning of the school enterprise journey, three YES companies are identified by all student participants as reflecting the values of the college: StopCom (2004), Unity Biscuits (2006) and Urban Warriors (2007). All three companies received significant national and international recognition (Howley et al., 2008). “They had great media coverage and made a profit. All were new products to the market and met a community need” (Student D). A national magazine also noted:

Thanks to their slick marketing and media smarts, you may well have heard of a nifty cell phone detector developed by a bunch of Christchurch school boys. A third of all sales went to overseas buyers and the StopCom website received 300,000 hits in a matter of months. (North & South, 2005, p. 65)

All students provided affirmation and support for these three companies. These companies were considered to align with both the college’s special character and the social enterprise model.

A number of students were highly critical of one team that operated without any alignment with the social enterprise model. Accilink (2007) designed a car-tracking system that used global positioning. One student noted that the “product never materialised; however, because of marketing hype this was not common knowledge” (Student A). It needs to be acknowledged that the ‘hype’ and media exposure were consistent with the goals of the college. One student noted the team was “extremely successful and was more businesslike but less based on honesty and social enterprise values” (Student F). This team was supported by the mentor introducing a public relations consultant to advise them (Field Note: 12/06/2006). All students collectively indicated an awareness of wider community and product perceptions. An unworthy product would affect all YES participants and the college.

5.4.3. Regional and National YES Facilitation

A feature of the YES scheme was regional facilitation, which occurred locally through Core Education, formerly the Canterbury Development Corporation (CDC). At a national level, facilitation was provided by the YET, formerly known as the ENZT. Regional events were poorly organised, they lacked clear student direction and were either under- or over-catered (Field Notes: 23/09/2005; 03/04/2007; 12/05/2009). Students collectively spoke unfavourably about regional facilitation over a period of seven years. Consistent reference was made to a lack of fairness, non-transparency, bias, and inconsistency in decision making. They “were not so good: they played favourites with certain schools, they lacked organisation as evidenced through poor communications, not replying to emails. A little hostility existed” (Student D). Students were supported in this view by the principal who called into the college the YES regional facilitator. The principal sought assurances of cultural safety and that students would be treated fairly. Students were delighted with this intervention but the coordinator appeared overwhelmed and angry (Field Note: 09/12/2006). A shared student negative response was directed towards regional YES facilitation.

Despite negative feelings towards the regional facilitator, each team, apart from one, knew and applied the rules of the game (Scott, 1990). Due to the competitive nature of YES, a no-complaints culture prevailed. Each year, YES teams annually acknowledged the support and guidance of the regional coordinator, “who promptly answered all our queries and organised the training and competition days effectively” (Urban Warriors, 2007, p. 19). Further, “in terms of compliance and events we wish to acknowledge the Canterbury YES Coordinator for support, encouragement and planning of good quality events” (DCS, 2009, p. 16). A pattern of public affirmation of the skills and competencies of the regional facilitators existed despite a critical undercurrent. At a different level, there is a genuine pattern of praise for the national facilitation provided by YET and for the opportunities it provided: “I was a participant in the 2008 Global Enterprise Challenge, this team was chosen from an event organised by ENZT; it was a greatly successful event, as my team ended up winning the Global Enterprise Challenge” (Student K). This comment is an indicative student response. One student summarises the individually expressed views on YES facilitation: “The CDC were disorganised and appeared incompetent in judging decisions, as some appeared to be simply political, whilst the YET were very well

organised” (Student A). YES students, despite their successes, are consistently negative about regional facilitation (Scott, 1990). These views are strikingly consistent with those of the SMT and business mentors (see Chapters 7 and 11).

5.5 Values

Students are clear about the values of the school. “The values taught at the case study college are Christian values, fostering honesty and integrity in young men” (Student J). Community was a frequently reflected value by YES students in special assemblies (Field Note: 04/06/2005; 17/10/2007). Edmund Rice is also cited along with the social enterprise model. The school enterprise model “follows the values of our founder Edmund Rice who was a wealthy businessman who gave up his fortune to help poor children to have an education” (Student H). An emphasis was placed on social justice.

5.6 Student perceptions of College Management (SMT)

SMT played a key role in charting the success of the YES programme. Students noted that the SMT was responsible for changing the culture of the college to create a point of difference: “In my view the senior managers were ruthless, everything positive was attributed to our new school enterprise values” (Student H). Students experienced a number of moral and ethical dilemmas relating to the involvement of the former principal. Also experienced was a parallel sense of power sharing with the SMT on issues of common interest relating to enterprise.

Differences occurred due to the unwelcomed intervention of the former principal in YES team operations. One student noted their product was not able to achieve satellite connectivity, however the former principal consistently refused to acknowledge the limitation (Student J). On several occasions, the former principal, unannounced, arrived at student YES meetings and dominated all discussions (Field Notes: 12/07/2005; 03/04/2006; 18/09/2007). Another team found “he had a desire to manage the company in the place of student directors” (Student A). Thus, SMT interventions created difficulties in YES operations. There was no overt student challenge to such behaviour, as the risks in terms of status and not winning were too great.

The SMT had created an environment in which students had power to manipulate both teaching and support staff. An example was an incident on site: the tuckshop crisis of 2007. The incident highlighted the importance, value and power of enterprise within the college community. Students produced salam biscuits which were retailed at the tuckshop at a subsidised price compared to external suppliers. The principal directed the tuckshop manager to increase the price of salam biscuits. A student director reported:

The principal decided to back down. The tuckshop manager was not very happy with this intervention. The principal had no choice but to do what we said he needed to; we would have taken the issue to the Board of Trustees. (Student D)

A tension existed to which the whole college was party: biscuits were a common item in most student lunches (Field Note: 12/06/2007). “We knew the principal would support us. YES looks better than a tuckshop does. Enterprise generates higher publicity” (Student D).

5.7 Teachers

Some teachers at the case study school have been identified as creating barriers to the YES programme. Those who did not conform or share enterprise values were dismissed by students as ‘negative’ and ‘old fashioned’. Each student was clear where the opposition within the college presided and how it became progressively weaker each year another YES success was recorded. Students were able to exploit their power and influence over teachers and figuratively ‘beat them up’ if they stood in their way. We often “ignored teacher instruction and directed any teachers who had a problem to take up the matter with the principal. I guess we were a little bullying” (Student E). Another student expressed an aspiration of “wanting to be like the senior YES students who could do whatever they wanted” (Student J). In addition, YES students who were speaking at assemblies were invited to sit at the front of the hall across from teaching staff (Field Notes: 12/04/2005; 06/06/2007; 17/11/2010). This was a change in practice and reflected a new culture at the school of celebrating student success. Only three students made the effort to identify any reasoning behind teacher opposition: “older, more traditional teachers opposed enterprise as they do not fully understand or control it” (Student C). Further, “some staff believe EE does not promote Christian values” (Student J), and it represents a “dynamic seen as a threat to their department” (Student G). Despite two students attempting to gain an

understanding of teacher opposition, no clear rationale was articulated by the students to explain this, beyond resistance to a new threat.

A growing culture of enterprise within the college resulted in increased student enrolments. Media publicity celebrating YES success was constant. On one occasion, the former principal instructed that the school bells were to sound three times once news arrived of another YES success (Field Note: 23/10/2004). A gallery of large, framed photographs lined a main stairwell, which celebrated past YES teams and was to inspire future students. A negative comment by a teacher to their class relating to this gallery was that the principal was seeking “via this new gallery to create new princes for a church based on greed and capitalism” (Student C). It was clear then to the students that by 2006 there was a fundamental change in the culture of the college: “YES students enjoyed power and prestige in the college community, we have overtaken rugby and rowing, we punched above our weight and we are at the top of our game” (Student H). A culture had emerged of enterprise success that had become mainstream.

Over time, the proactive interventions of the SMT and former principal, who had left the college, diminished in frequency. Students adjusted their practice to the expectations of the new SMT and college values. Social enterprise, including ethical business practice, was emphasised. Products and practices needed to align. The interests of both students and SMT became aligned. The language and phrases of social enterprise were learnt. A student participant of YES in 2008/9 explicitly referred to this alignment: “at school we are taught the importance of having an ethical approach to business. We are taught the importance of honesty and transparency when working with members of our wider community” (Student H). Students took part in wider college activities to showcase the fusion of enterprise and school values, such as a slave labour protest (Field Note: 12/07/2007), an Environment Sustainable Fair (Field Note: 12/03/2010) and attendance at a regional conference on cultural tolerance (Field Note: 12/06/2007). Justification for this approach was linked to Edmund Rice: “it made it a lot easier to justify the money making side of things” (Student G). A clear and consistent alignment between both student practice and values had developed.

Despite an alignment of values between the SMT and students, it is clear that some student participants have felt exploited by the SMT. Over 80 per cent of student participants

identified themselves as being subject to a degree of exploitation, but all were accepting of it and had ‘expected’ or ‘proactively sought it’. One student brought the topic up in the context of moral and ethical dilemmas as being issues for both himself and the college. He talked about his YES goal of: “wanting to raise awareness of Maori literacy in the intermediate age group of children. I am 1/128th Maori, and felt slightly uncomfortable portraying myself as Maori for marketing purposes for the book. I was in a moral dilemma regarding my ethnic portrayal” (Student A). It was noted that the SMT showed no hesitation in marketing this cultural point of difference to a variety of wider audiences (ERO Report, 2008; New Zealand Catholic, 12 December 2007).

Although students have clearly identified individual gains, a shared view exists that initiation of the YES programme has also benefited the SMT. Also noted was the YES teacher’s rapid advance into middle management after progressive YES successes. Five students believe this was part of the original intent of the programme. Students identified the former and current principal, previously the assistant principal, and the YES teacher as the critical initiators and beneficiaries of the scheme: “I think the power and influence of EE has being wielded by three staff members, this scheme (YES) has been used for personal agendas and career pathways” (Student A). A further student noted that general staff engagement with enterprise is now looked upon favourably at the case study school. This insight into a culture of power at the college is significant: “I guess anything that promotes the school reflects well on them. That seems healthy but maybe some people [staff] have used that to achieve a gain that is not proportionate to their input: just jumped on the band-wagon” (Student G). It is accepted by all YES students that the SMT jointly initiated the model that had exceeded all expectations. Overall, combinations of the YES teacher and SMT at the college are identified as the initiators and drivers of the YES programme.

5.8 Marketing

The success of the YES programme has resulted in significant national and international media coverage for the school. Students take a great deal of pride in lifting the college profile and are aware of a new power dynamic. The school is “seen as a Catholic school that teaches Christian values and business enterprise in addition to providing the regular curricula used by all other such schools” (Student J, College Newsletter, and June 2007).

Further, enterprise publicity is “one of the only things we get noticed for at a national and international level. The school has just feed off all the publicity” (Student G). Students are clearly aware of the media profile and have exploited this position by exerting advantage (see student Personal Benefits and Motivations). Students are the beneficiaries of enhanced career development and hold a special and privileged place within the college community.

Part of an enhanced media profile is attributed to a competitive advantage gained by the refined social enterprise approach: “I believe our special character as a school and social enterprise gives us an advantage” (Student H). Further, in an address to guests including the prime minister, the following overview of the values-based model was expressed: “Enterprise at our college isn’t solely about profit, it’s about social justice, ethical business and making sustainable connections with those in the community” (Student B, Speech, 2009). As identified, the values-based model adds a competitive advantage to the YES programme. This integration of school and YES values has worked well in generating a culture of success, and has encouraged student engagement via a sense of belonging to a winning formula and successful school.

Still, YES programme are widespread but only available for a limited number of students each year. There are barriers to engagement that are not referred to in the media or school promotional material (a false consciousness). YES students are clear that no open access to the programme should be available. However, all YES participants support enterprise being delivered in mainstream classes. All students acknowledge their privileged position. When we were selected to participate, we couldn’t flunk out. It wasn’t like a group activity, we had a reputation” (Student D). Every resource was applied to maintain this reputation.

5.9 Winners and Losers

Student participants are aware they are all winners from EE as delivered at the college. There is a partial awareness of the model of power that exists or the rules of the game. Senior management are also identified as clear winners. There is acknowledgment that barriers are present that prevent free participation. One student noted: “I think it is definitely looked up to by the younger students, as something to aspire to” (Student K). Overall, students perceive themselves as winners and special: “It is an elite programme for

students who are allowed time out of class and special treatment” (Student A). Students wish to keep the limitation on entrance to the YES programme to maintain an elite status. What is not acknowledged are students to participate in YES. There is no open conflict, consistent with the first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power. But what is present is the removal of decision making from an open agenda, consistent with the second dimension, and a false consciousness exists consistent with the third dimension of power.

5.9.1. Non-YES Student Perspective

There is a generalised acceptance of the importance of YES by non-participant students: “grievances have not reached expression in the political arena and it is illuminating to say that power can be at work preventing them from doing so” (Lukes, 2005, p. 111). This is the view of YES students. One student notes, “there are certainly no other obvious student groups that miss out due to enterprise – we all win” (Student F). An acceptance exists that is similar to that applied to international students who were required for revenue creation: “I see YES just as important to the college as having international students, it is all about projecting the image of a good school and making money” (Student J). Such a position indicates “the effects of power relations are most manifest subordinate groups who endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic partners, in their subordination” (Scott, 1990, p. 4). Similar rituals exist for both enterprise and international students including international assemblies (Field Note: 03/04/2008) and international students’ day, when different types of food and games are shared (Field Note: 15/03/2009).

Despite exhibiting an overwhelming wilful blindness, or understanding the perspectives of non-YES students, the YES teacher and the SMT are clearly identified as winners benefiting from EE. These perspectives are reflected in Table 5.1, which captures student responses regarding those who are advantaged. Surprisingly, only one student noted that business was a winner of the YES programme, believing businesses will “have the chance to employ young men who are enterprising and creative through their participation in these programmes” (Student H). Despite this sole comment, other students referred to mentors with whom they shared a proximate relationship as being winners but chose not to generalise to a wider business community.

Table 5.1: Those Who Have Benefited From the YES Programme, Excluding Student Participants

Group	Student Response Frequency
Mentor (companies/organisations)	6
YET	4
Regional and national YES facilitators	3
Catholic Church	3
College Proprietors – Christian Brothers	9
Student families	8
Case study college	11
YES teacher	7
Senior Management Team	5
Marginalised groups (that YES teams have been in partnership with and/or supported)	2
Business interests	1

Student perceptions of winners included the case study school. Another student, mindful of being negative, stated “everyone involved wins, the raft of benefits overshadows any negative elements in my mind” (Student I). This is reflected in the college newsletter, which stated “enterprise is about winning, the school is a winner therefore everybody connected with it is also a winner” (School Newsletter, 23 October 2008). A quarter of student participants did acknowledge that losers exist within the college community. Students do not see this as a concern. In sum, “winners are students and teachers who support enterprise, but potential losers if they choose not to participate” (Student J). Such a position is difficult to reconcile when students acknowledge that no equality of access exists. Ring-fencing a special programme would, in a transparent and open environment, be challenged by those who felt excluded or marginalised, but this scheme has extraordinary protection.

Mentors

Another group labelled winners are the mentors. Their support provides a material contribution to YES success. Mentors provide guidance to support students throughout the year: “our mentor consistently guided us through the process, he allowed us to learn some key lessons” (Student I). This guiding support is also acknowledged in YES student annual reports of the “positive learning” (Comet Technologies, 2006, p. 10) and “constructive lessons” (Decibel Control Systems, 2009, p. 15). One student also noted the social engagement that occurred via the YES programme through working with a transgendered mentor: “he was not someone I would have had much to do with in terms of our vastly different lives, but this provided a great opportunity in terms of tolerance” (Student I). Further benefits were noted by another participant (Student G) who gained a greater understanding of business and networking and was provided with an opportunity for social engagement. An experience was reported that is not consistent with the pattern provided by other participants. A specific mentor was perceived to be of “little help, he only attended one meeting and other than this has done little but sent a few emails. He also missed our product launch while he was on holiday” (Student F). Overall mentors provided good overall support with one exception.

The majority of students referred to mentors in the positive terms of accessing business resources and networks: “our company mentor was very experienced in the fashion market and had a lot of contacts in the area” (Student H). In terms of ongoing relationships, two students continue to have a relationship with their mentors. The majority of students believed mentor engagement was based on goodwill and honourable intent: “He was genuine and wanted to help, there may have been a hidden agenda, but I felt he wanted to be there” (Student G), and “I think our mentor chose to help us because that is the kind of good-willed person he is” (Student I).

Another factor identified by students as being an important attraction for mentors was a college link. ‘Old boys’ giving back to the college resulted in three YES mentors coming from this group. A wife of an old boy of the college was also a mentor. Motivations of mentors are identified as a desire to participate and connect with the college. Engagement was reported as positive by the majority of students. These engagements occur in a neo-liberal context, which is diffused through the shaping of student and mentor needs and

wants in terms of the third dimension of power.

5.9.3. Other Winners

In terms of stakeholders associated with the college who support EE, a range of additional winners are identified. Only one student explicitly identified business in general as a winner but others talked about the need for business to support EE: “business leaders want to see the development of young entrepreneurs” (Student C). No negative issues relating business influence were recorded. Indeed, one student called for an increase: “it’s healthy, it’s gives more credibility to the scheme” (Student G). Business is clearly identified as necessary for the continuance of YES, and is collectively identified as a winner.

Other stakeholders including the Christian Brothers, the college proprietors, are identified as winners. They actively support enterprise within the college community. Student B noted “the local Brothers come to our YES product launches and allow access to their Oceania media network to promote our products”. As a group, the Christian Brothers are also seeking relevance and an ability to affect change in an evolving society. The success of the social enterprise model provides such a vehicle. As one student notes, the “relation is one of mutuality. They want success and community engagement and we deliver for them” (Student A).

Parents and family members were also identified by the majority of students as being a significant part of the culture of winning: “enterprise was a very important factor in my decision to come to this school” (Student H). All other responses are indicative, with one exception. A slightly different story is recorded when parents thought an unequal distribution of work was occurring: “my family are happy with the business experience, but were concerned that my drive to succeed was taken advantage of by my team members as they relaxed on the bandwagon” (Student A).

5.10 Student Voice: Model of Power

In the above sections, I have captured and themed the student voices. Here I analyse it in terms of the three dimensions provided by Lukes’ (2005) model.

The first dimension has a focus on actual and observable behaviour in decision making (Dahl, 1958) where there is observable conflict. The former principal portrayed himself as a key decision maker in EE and sought to manage and lead YES companies. Examples furnished by two students noted “it was unfair when the principal at the time was constantly telling the media we were donating all our profits to charity” (Student I), and “he intervened in the general running of the company” (Student G). From a student perspective, despite posturing and seeking to engage in micromanagement, the former principal made only one key conflict-based decision. The decision related to the tuckshop crisis (see Section 5.6). A decision was made to support enterprise and represented a clear policy preference at the expense of other curriculum needs. This situation represents observable conflict as between the students and principal, consistent with the first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power. Such a low frequency of decision making in a school, which is hierarchally based, suggests other powerful influences existed (Freire, 1981).

The second dimension of power relates to agenda setting. Insight is provided into the interests of those engaged in non-decision making, and the interests of those excluded from a hearing within the political system (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). Clearly, the private process of student selection is aligned to Lukes’ (2005) second dimension of power. The argument employed of national economic survival, consistent with neo-liberal philosophy, provided a justification for negating the need for transparent decision making. A lack of a clear student definition of enterprise exists with no leadership being provided by the college or external stakeholders. Such a vagueness of definition indicates non-decision making and a non-agenda item. Also off the agenda is the student voice who privately commented on competencies of regional YES coordination, but this seems not have led to any public voice. Students are attuned to the political realities of the YES programme (Scott, 1990).

In terms of the second dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model, students were provided with conflicting signals of freedom to pursue market opportunities; on the one hand they were free agents but on the other hand they were subject to intervention of the SMT. Students had freedom to pursue product selection, production, marketing, sales, and on occasion had allowed students to manipulate paid college staff. When the former principal sought to engage in micromanagement towards the end of various YES journeys, resentment was

created. One student acknowledged the need or aspiration for honesty and transparency, “which has not always been the case in certain enterprise situations” (Student E).

The third dimension of the model captures the “suppressive and most insidious exercise of power” (Lukes, 2005, p. 28). It includes the operation of social forces and institutional practices. Students reveal a school environment where enterprise had become enshrined into school values, rituals and procedures. An environment exists where a manipulated consensus of support for enterprise exists. As evidenced by the YES student selection process, reported motivations for participation were personal benefits and status within the school community. Students see no inconsistency between enterprise values and those of the college. Values can be equated with power and they were expressed both at an individual level by students and at an institutional level.

Values provide a justification for EE at the case study school. Values mask power. Two students made an explicit connection between the assertion of Edmund Rice values to justify and promote social enterprise: “as long as initial reference was made to Edmund Rice, at product launches, assemblies and documents, the businessman, our team could justify anything” (Student D). Looking back I don’t think the principal could have got away without pinning everything we did on Catholic values and [the] life of Edmund Rice” (Student H). The student voice reveals that a culture of enterprise has become mainstream within the college. Anyone who does not share the values, speak the language or share the passion for YES, including some teachers, is deemed negative and a barrier to student learning (Freire, 1981; Foucault, 1980). Such a new culture rests upon the presence of power within the college environment. Lukes’ (2005) model of power, through its three dimensions, enables the existence and exercise of power to be successfully identified.

Values also made stakeholders feel better and no critical questions were asked. From a critical perspective, it is difficult to separate values and power. There is a capacity of power to reproduce values, and student perspectives consistently reflect this dynamic:

How we think of power may serve to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations or alternatively [they] ... may contribute to their continued functioning, or it may unmask their principles of operation, whose effectiveness is increased by their being hidden from view. (Lukes, 2005, p. 63)

Within power relations there are certain interests, and it is necessary to capture the interests behind these values. A consistency in values of the college is expressed by all students. They are general but have a focus around community, social justice and inclusiveness, with the noted exception of the YES programme.

A culture of student success has developed that is a strong force within the college. Students who participate in YES enjoy a special and elite status within the school community and they sought to protect this position. Two examples in the data above support this interpretation. First was student opinion on quality product selection. It was suggested one product did not align to the values of social enterprise. This was a collective voice, which referred to a self-corrective mechanism and aligned with the third dimension of power: “appropriate outcomes (now occur) without having to act, because of attitude of others towards me or because of a favourable alignment of social relations and forces facilitating such” (Lukes, 2005, p. 78). The second example is the shared student view on regional facilitation. Every student participant had a clear view, shared by other participant groups, that this facilitation was not fair. Such a similarity of response suggests a reproduction of power relations and institutional practices within the case study school. These responses show a very clear awareness of a privileged position made from an environment where the power of enterprise is embedded.

Students engaged with the community by employing the values of Edmund Rice while intending to gain competitive advantage, which is consistent with a neo-liberal environment and the third dimension of Lukes’ (1974, 2005) model of power. The consistency of approach and practice reflects the transmission of a culture of power present at the school.

YES students, who enjoy extraordinary privilege and status within the college as evidenced by their gain this is where you need to refer to some data headings above), make very little attempt to understand teacher opposition other than as jealousy. Generating a media profile is seen as working towards the collective good of the college. The power of the media has assisted enterprise to become mainstream at the school. Students select products and engage in community partnerships to maximise media attention. There is no walking alongside others within the community in genuine partnership. Students initiate and lead partnerships: “power as domination is the ability to constraint the choices of others,

coercing them or securing their compliance, by impeding them from living as their own nature and judgement dictate” (Lukes, 2005, p. 85).

The third dimension of power also provides insight into social forces and new institutional practices that have created an entrepreneurial identity at the case study school (DuGay, 2000; Gladstone, 2005): “The school has just fed off the publicity” (Student G). YES success dominates other successes of non-YES students at the case study school. An environment of false consciousness has developed (Lukes, 2005). A limiting selection process was in place. Participants see YES as both elite and conferring status on them within the school. The evidence very clearly suggests no opportunities for discussion around YES exist, and limited access to the scheme.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter recorded student participation in EE. The power of EE is reflected in deeds, decision making and non-decision making to assist the continuance of the programme (Lukes, 1974, 2005). Students are at the centre of the school and do identify some visible elements of power of which they seem aware. By virtue of this analysis, students are seen as participants in a larger game beyond YES. This can be reflected in what is said and not said, and what deeds are performed and those not undertaken. Records of the power of EE in various guises are reported by the student voice. A consistent student definition of enterprise is not provided. Enterprise has been integrated into the special character of the college. This linkage has realised positive media exposure. What goes unnoticed and unnamed are the vast majority of students who are not participants of the YES programme and who merely witnesses its success. College resources that are allocated to this scheme are not acknowledged or referred to. Both students and the SMT are now engaged in an alignment of interests to support the social enterprise model. The student voice is privileged and this voice identifies benefits to the college and external stakeholders.

The recipients of external criticism are regional facilitators of the YES scheme. This criticism occurs within a culture of outward compliance (Scott, 1990). An internal, but weak, critique is identified as coming from teachers and non-YES students.

Competition is part of a manifestation of power and a key value of neo-liberalism. There

has “been diffusion across the globe of neo-liberal ideas and assumptions” (Lukes, 2005, p. 10). The YES programme is a student competition. The case study school has made success a priority. The school also operates in a competitive environment to attract students and positive media exposure of its value. The Christian Brothers are also in competition for both active and engaged students to ensure and affirm their relevancy as a religious order in today’s society. The student voice reveals the power of marketing and aligns community partnerships and product selection to maximise publicity.

The voice of the teachers and educator both mirror and provide an enhanced perspective on student themes relating to power. A school is student-focused, and it is logical to progress next to the other partner in the learning relationship and further explore the meaning of EE. Teachers provide that link in a learning partnership. Power is expressed through relationships, and the teaching relationship is critical. The teacher voice will further furnish the power model with what is evidenced and recorded, what is not said, decisions that are not made and what is taken off the agenda.

Chapter 6

Teacher Voices of Enterprise Education

6.1 Introduction

Learning is a partnership between students and teachers. Teacher voices captured include those of three teachers who are currently delivering EE at the case study school (Jewell, 2007) and those not charged with its delivery. A further heard voice is a HoF responsible for overseeing YES. Also included is the voice of a national teacher advisor, who formerly taught economics at the case study school. The public voice of the secondary teachers' union, the NZPPTA, is also heard.

6.2 Definition of EE

There is no consistency of teacher definition for EE. No clear theme emerges but all responses are positive and refer to students being proactive in pursuing enterprise behaviours. One teacher referred to enterprise as “a business or commercial undertaking, to be businesslike, a competitive ‘go get it’ ethos, learning the competitive edge as a value” (Teacher A). Such a view is consistent with learning resources provided to teachers from YET. Enterprise “is creative, sexy, high energy and if you are not on the edge you are taking up too much room” (NZET, 2007). Another teacher noted “EE provides young people a chance to think about a problem for themselves, rather than being told what to think or how to think. It gives them the opportunity to take risks in a controlled environment” (Teacher E). These generalised skills and experiences lack a consistency (Coffield, 1990; Renwick & Gray, 2001). The question of providing a key definition was brought up at the case study site, during a professional development day for teachers in March, 2006. Professional development was delivered by staff from YET. The presenter was questioned about a clear definition of enterprise by a long serving non-supportive teacher. The response was that students picking up rubbish were being enterprising (Field Note: 26/03/2006). This created discussion among some staff who suggested enterprise was a flash label or a repackaging of what was considered ordinary teaching practice. This umbrella definition did little to instil confidence among some teaching staff.

The lack of a clear definition also concerned the NZPPTA. During the curriculum consultation process, concerns existed relating to definitions for ‘entrepreneurial’ and ‘enterprising’. The NZPPTA considered “the word ‘enterprising’ would more than adequately serve both senses, that students will be adventurous, innovative both in their personal lives and in their working lives” (NZPPTA, 2006, p. 6). In terms of individual teachers, enterprising attributes of students are stressed in their definitions. The new curriculum document is the sole defining document, where enterprise is not specifically defined, but entrepreneurial skills are deemed essential and must be taught.

6.3 Teacher Participation

Some teachers are identified as barriers, nationally and at the case study school, to the delivery of EE. This perception was expressed in the student voice (see Chapter 5). It was argued that reluctance exists for teachers to change to enterprise thinking, thereby obstructing the learning opportunities of students (Welch, 1998). Despite this perception, there appears to be few examples of direct observable teacher opposition. However, a clear perception exists that teachers who are opposed to EE are not considered to be mainstream.

6.3.1. Framing of Language

Teachers who currently deliver EE are clear that no significant changes are required from unenthusiastic colleagues. Essentially, enterprise is seen as a rebranding of existing skills and competencies. Picking up rubbish can be an enterprising activity (Field Note: 26/03/2007). There is acknowledgment that “sometimes it can be difficult to explain to a mathematician or a scientist to say you can be just as enterprising as in an English context: or a science context as you can in a business context” (Teacher C). Teachers are supported in the belief they too can be enterprising in their approach to course content: “the strategy to overcome teacher’s negativity is language. The fact is you can be enterprising in any context you are in. It’s an approach, a way of thinking, a state of mind it’s not a set of rules to follow” (Teacher B). This reframing of language is a technique employed for advancing enterprise (see Chapter 12). Language is a power technique to reframe the nature and scope of an agenda (Lukes, 1974, 2005). However, the NZPPTA remain clear the use of terms ‘entrepreneurial’ as well as ‘enterprising’ have very clear meanings and rebranding changes nothing: “it reads as if the prime job of schools [is] to turn out small-business

people” (NZPPTA Submission, 2006, p. 6). In sum, it is argued the new curriculum “fails to recognise the issues of power, equity and justice are fundamental to a consideration of globalisation, and fails to recognise New Zealand’s place in the Pacific and the wider world” (NZPPTA Submission, 2006, p. 8). Despite this position, case study teachers have no philosophical concerns with delivering EE.

6.3.2. Workload Implications

Teachers identified EE as generating increased workloads. At a national level, it is acknowledged by the NZPPTA that workload increases will occur with any new programme. The same view is reflected at the case study school: “individual teachers and departments end up making the compromises” (Teacher A); and “realistically, almost certainly workload will increase” (Teacher D). Not consistent with this pattern is the voice of a sole teacher who expressed confidence that teachers will not incur any significant increase in enterprise-related workload. All increases in workload can be mitigated “by a supply of lesson plans and accessing resources such as those available in financial literacy” (Teacher C). Another possible means of managing workload is a suggested deferment of “some of the mechanical or administrative tasks and routines to teacher aides or ancillary staffing” (Teacher D). However, the school became more explicit in its approach when advertising for a social science teacher “who can commit to the special character of the college and its unique enterprise programmes” (Field Note: 26/09/2006). Despite discussion around incentives to compensate for workload, an overwhelming view exists that an increase will occur despite the school being advanced in the delivery of EE.

6.3.3. Teacher Resistance

Within the school, some teachers are clearly identified by their colleagues as not supporting EE values. An understanding of this opposition is expressed by two teachers: “some may not be opposed to enterprise, but are not happy with pupils missing school, but the same teachers would complain the same way about boys being away with rugby” (Teacher C). Another response noted that teachers have a different way of looking at things: “we can as teachers have a tendency to continue down the track of what is familiar to us. Anything different will meet some resistance” (Teacher E). An historical and cultural perspective may also account for this reluctance to change and adhere to the new

environment of enterprise as mainstream: “when I was teaching at the school the Christian Brothers were quite strong and they had less of a worldwide view of education. Older teachers may have a similar position to that of the former brothers” (Teacher B). In sum, the identified reasons for non-support include a lack of understanding, loss of student learning time and a sense of threat.

Teachers also referred to there being no structured opportunity to discuss EE and its role at the college. Enterprise was “adopted overnight with no discussion or no review opportunities; it has scarceness about it” (Teacher E). When one teacher asked for such an opportunity at a staff meeting, they were advised enterprise was a strategic priority of the college and therefore not open for teacher debate (Field Note: 25/04/2008). Teachers have also noted opposition to enterprise beyond the college. Some teachers saw enterprise “as railroading education opportunities for the purposes of business development long-term” (Teacher D), and relate that “some parents might think that enterprise is a right-wing subject” (Teacher C). Clearly, enterprise teachers are aware of non-supportive colleagues concerning their discipline and also share an awareness of a critical perspective beyond the school.

6.4 Values

There are no teacher-identified inconsistencies expressed between the values of the Catholic Church, the school, and EE. Such a consistency of view is significant reflecting both institutional practice and structures. All teachers can clearly identify the values of the school: “the college is based on the Christian values of charity, caring and love” (Teacher C) and it is a “caring organisation, looking to develop a well-rounded individual who has the ability to be an independent thinker” (Teacher E).

On the basis of shared values, EE can only be complementary to the school and benefit the Church (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002): “enterprise will help the underprivileged to get out [of] the cycle of poverty” (Teacher C); and “the values and experiences of enterprise involve skills which are important for life” (Teacher D). Combined teacher views indicate no difficulty reconciling school and Church values with EE by those charged with its delivery at the school (Gershon & Collins, 2007; Greenbank, 2003).

Two YES products were identified by all teachers as encapsulating the values of the school: which aligned with the collective students' view (see Chapter 5). The salam biscuit was identified by all enterprise teachers as "meeting a real need plus the children's book, which was produced by Urban Warriors to name the issue and assist with Maori literacy" (Teacher E). Another teacher also related his YES journey product highlights:

Biscotti – A Taste of Rome: when the prime minister came to launch the product it was great. The book by Urban Warriors was great – knowing how my wife's Year 3 class responded to the story line. The fact they could empathise with the characters had to be brilliant. (Teacher D)

These products were spoken about with pride and achievement by teachers and are deemed reflective of the applied college values.

6.5 College Management

The SMT is clearly identified with the YES teacher as being responsible for initiating the enterprise culture. All teachers agree this new culture has had a powerful impact on the college community. This view is consistent with the student voice (see Chapter 5): "there is no doubt it was the YES teacher and the then principal [who] saw the potential of creating a niche and potential media coverage" (Teacher D) (Newman, 2005). As enterprise programmes expanded beyond the YES programme into compulsory subject areas, a larger number of teachers were required. Despite acknowledging the role of the SMT, a warning existed of potential risk: "power rested with the SMT but the YES teacher was integral, and he had the capacity or potential to make or break it at any time" (Teacher D). This integral role was further acknowledged when the YES teacher received a national award from the Governor-General (Field Note: 05/11/2007). However, as time progressed, this warning dissipated because the growth of enterprise continued and it became mainstream. The power or responsibility for EE became shared with the SMT and more teachers.

6.6 Marketing

The regional and national success of YES exceeded all expectations. The school was identified as a clear winner in terms of the media profile generated as a result of the YES:

“achievement of YES teams at regional and national level has raised the profile of the school” (Teacher E): including “national and local media, radio, television and print coverage” (Teacher D).

When clarity was sought as to an alignment of enterprise rhetoric and deeds, only one teacher provided a response: “being a realist the answer will be no; whoever is promoting will spin, spin and spin again” (Teacher D). Despite this one comment, the overwhelming response was silence. Teachers’ silence existed around any critique of any school YES programme. However, teachers are more comfortable expressing generalised concerns over enterprise.

6.7 Winners and Losers

Teachers clearly identify student participants and the college community as winners: “the boys participating are the winners” (Teacher C). They are “a select group which seems to flourish” (Teacher D). Winning is also generalised to the wider college community: “there is a strong feel good factor for the college community, staff, pupils and parents” (Teacher D). Teachers also have identified themselves as winners. During the 1980s, the school lost teaching staff as a result of a decline in student numbers. It is clear that enterprise assisted in generating role growth, which has resulted in a collective security of employment: “we can now offer a more diverse range of subjects, employ more teaching and support staff, as our roll continues to expand” (School Newsletter, 4 June, 2008). One teacher added “we need as teachers to appreciate the benefits enterprise has provided to us all in terms of permanency of work” (Teacher C). Teachers actually receive something in return for their subordination to enterprise. Thus, along with students and the college, teachers also regard themselves as winners from the adoption of enterprise at the case study school.

No losers at the case study school were identified by teachers. It appears a premium is placed on winning in the new culture of enterprise and a wilful blindness exists to any losers. Other groups within the case study school who have achieved are not referred to or included as having achieved the returns generated from YES. No substantive comment was made about resources devoted to enterprise, the small number of YES student participants, barriers to student engagement or the special status afforded to students within the college.

6.7.1. Lost Voice of the Teacher Union

The public voice of teachers (NZPPTA) identifies the community as a potential loser from EE.

Students and teachers are becoming the losers as the school is colonised. Schools that adopted the culture in the 1990s quickly became de-unionised and self-sufficient to the point that they saw themselves as having no responsibility to neighbouring schools and communities or to the national interest. Despite 10 years of a different political climate in this millennium, those individualistic, competitive values remain strong in those schools. (Teacher A) (Jones & Maloy, 1988)

As part of community losing, the inequalities generated between schools as a result of EE are identified (Gerring, 2007). Attention is drawn to both low decile and rural schools (Teacher D). The union acknowledges its weak position and that its position is not being matched by practice. It does not consider the prospect of opposing enterprise as winnable. Such a position reflects the mainstream status of EE within New Zealand schools.

6.7.2. Business Influence

A lack of teacher willingness, nationally, to take collective action to oppose EE is not surprising. There appears to be a disconnect between rhetoric and practice. At the case study school, there is a clear acceptance of business. A collective view exists among enterprise teachers that business influence is manageable and acceptable. This is different from the national perspective. Power “exists in the push to promote the initiation, delivery and growth of EE, which is from big business interests” (Teacher A). This national teacher voice of the union is supported by recent research. Evidence exists of heightened engagement by the business sector, especially Telco, IT, advertising and big brand international merchants with individual schools (Thrupp et al., 2007; Wylie, 1995). Despite a national difference, teachers at the case study school have two clear covenants on business engagement: a need for a balanced delivery of content; and ensuring a registered teacher is facilitating classroom learning. “Concerns exist about the roles of regional enterprise facilitators, non-registered teachers, providing guidance and support for students

in enterprise” (Teacher C). This concern is also shared by the NZPPTA: “mentors are coming into classrooms resulting in an unbalanced delivery of community perspectives, no union education, and a balancing perspective is seldom present” (Teacher A). The covenants provided by teachers at the case study school have not been breached; however, they do indicate a potential or capacity. The national voice of the teacher also identifies what is seen as an emerging reality and not a mere potentiality.

6.8 Voice of the Teacher: Model of Power

Teachers at the case study school have revealed no actual decision making that aligns to the first dimension of power (Lukes, 2005). At the school, some teachers “may feel threatened by the success of enterprise and how it impacts on the viability of their own teaching area” (Teacher D). However, such opposition is difficult to quantify (Welch, 1998). At a national level, a clear conflict existed over the inclusion of enterprising and entrepreneurial values into the new curriculum (2010). “An observable conflict of interests is seen as express policy preferences” (Lukes, 2005, p. 19). However, according to Teacher A, the “issue was only winnable if it is deeply and sufficiently widely felt however that was not the case”. Nationally, teacher voices are difficult to hear on the issue of EE (Pratten & Ashford, 2000).

In terms of the second dimension no overt decision making or teacher opportunity for consultation or discussion occurred. This is an example of agenda setting with power being exercised “by confining the scope of decision making to relatively safe issues” (Lukes, 2005, p. 6). Teachers were denied the opportunity for “the public airing of policy conflicts” (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 949). In effect, a mobilisation of bias consisting of institutional practice, rituals and culture prevented teacher-initiated conflict. No teacher at the case study school recalled any specific decision made by the SMT to pursue EE, “it just happened” (Teacher C). In effect, the dominant values of enterprise prevailed while existing power relations prevented certain grievances from developing into fully fledged issues that call for decisions. Thus, it can be said that a non-decision making situation existed (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). No opportunity for a discussion or reflection on the adoption of enterprise occurred.

Consistent with other voices, including those of students, senior management and mentors,

teachers can provide no agreed definition of enterprise, apart from a shared view that it involves students being proactive in pursuing enterprise behaviours (Coffield, 1990; Renwick & Gray, 2001; UNESCO, 2008): “sometimes people don’t even know they are being entrepreneurial. It’s about giving it a label, making that label acceptable and it’s about people recognising it’s okay” (Teacher B). There is also awareness among teachers of the increased workload that enterprise will generate. Despite an awareness of workload issues by individual teachers and their union, the topic is off the agenda for discussion; the expectation is that teachers will need to manage. Increases in workload, the need for a clear definition of EE and arguments to counter a justification of economic national interest are not on any school or national agenda. No opportunities for dialogue existed.

The framing or justification for enterprise in a wider economic context is also supported by language. The employment of language is used to sell enterprise to teachers “arising out of how issues and questions are framed” (Lukes, 2005, p. 116). Language will overcome ‘teacher’s negativity’. Reframing of language can not only influence the agenda but can generate a façade of acceptance or mainstream status.

There is an identified fusion of the values of enterprise within the college: “enterprise might help the underprivileged to get out [of] the cycle of poverty” (Teacher C). Values can mask power and “serve to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations” (Lukes, 2005, p. 63). A fusion of values has served to create a mist to provide for an acceptance of enterprise among teachers. As a result teachers may “endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic partners in their subordination” (Scott, 1990, p. 4). Power as domination operates to conceal or misrepresent aspects of social relations. EE is portrayed as complementary and advances the interests of the Church and its values (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002). As with the Church, teachers also perceive the role and influence of business at the college as complementary.

The third dimension of power provides an insight into the social forces and institutional practices that have developed around YES and enterprise at the case study school. Teachers’ perspectives indicate power is operative around this new phenomenon. A clear picture emerges that YES is for an elite group of students. Consistent with the voice of students, teachers want barriers to engagement with YES to remain. Apart from one teacher voice, no losers are identified. Such a silence forms part of a false consciousness

argument (Lukes, 2005). It is clear that power, through a school culture, is being reproduced and power structures reinforced. Power is contributing to the continued functioning and success of enterprise. Lukes' (2005) model "unmasks dominant principles of operation, whose effectiveness is increased by their being hidden from view" (Lukes, 2005, p. 63). The school culture is ensuring the power and status of enterprise and position of teachers and students remain.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter on teacher voice has mirrored the themes identified in the previous chapter and foreshadows themes in Chapter 7 on the voice of the SMT. Practitioners of EE, at the case study school, support it. Support equates to a power (Grinyer et al., 2010). Identified benefits from EE include student learning opportunities and increased school media profile. A clear alignment between college values and YES teams are identified. There is an acceptance of business influence by educators at the case study school. Enterprise issues have not been brought to the table for discussion by all teachers. These absent discussions are a reflection of the second dimension of Lukes' (2005) model of power.

Competition is a clear theme. Not only is the YES scheme, by its nature, a competition but so is the operational model schools are now based on: a neo-liberal environment. Most teacher participants have clearly embraced this model. There is an absolute acceptance on the part of enterprise teachers that they are in the marketplace and need to compete (Bradford, 2003). One mechanism used to sell enterprise to both students and colleagues is the framing of language. Such an environment makes it difficult to reconcile a teacher duty of care to the real interests of all students. No reference was made to the students who do not participate in YES and a wider loss of learning opportunities. A silence exists. No institutional acknowledgement is provided to student academic, cultural or sporting groups within the school whose activities are not able to capture media attention and therefore benefit the school. In a wider context, only one teacher reflected on the inequality between schools.

As with student voice, the power of marketing and promotion is identified by teachers. The SMT (see Chapter 7) has been proactive in pursuing this profile. Such a profile is an overt manifestation of power (Lukes, 2005).

A theme that is clearly expressed is the power of the SMT within the college community. There appears to be an acceptance of enterprise as a mainstream culture within the school, a position that is mirrored by the student voice on enterprise. Teacher opposition within the college is acknowledged by several voices but there is a lack of specific examples. Teachers who are resisting enterprise (or who are perceived to be resisting) are labelled as barriers to student learning and achievement.

No inconsistency exists between the values of YES, as practised at the case study school, and the Church. A seamless consistency exists between all three. YES products are identified that are symbolic of this relationship. An acceptance also exists of business influence, which is at variance with the national teachers union's collective position.

SMT shares and provides enhanced perspectives on these themes. Power resides in relationships, and key relationships are shared by both teachers (Edwards, 2006) and students with the SMT. The authoritarian nature of school is established and maintained by the SMT. Power and its exercise ensures authority exists within a school.

Chapter 7

Senior Management Voices of Enterprise Education

7.1 Introduction

The SMT at the case study school employs a shared leadership model in terms of daily decision making and strategic planning. It is useful to go beyond collective decision making and identify individual views that fed into the YES programme. In order to arrive at a sufficiently complete understanding, former voices of the SMT have also been captured, including a former principal.

All of the members of the SMT have had a proximate engagement with the YES programme. Involvement has ranged from proactive participation “assisting to organise large-scale product launches and other events” (Senior Manager B) or to passive attendance: “I enjoy the events very much” (Senior Manager A). After the realisation of a national enterprise award in 2004, the SMT became a key advocate and supporter of enterprise (Field Note: 02/12/2004).

7.2 Definition of EE

The SMT has difficulty articulating a common or shared definition of EE. Three strands are identified from responses. The first equates to a student skills-based definition (Dwerryhouse, 2001; Hytti & O’Gorman, 2004; Renwick & Gray, 2001). “Young men looking to operate a business [seek] opportunities, and obtain skills in a safe manner” (Senior Manager A). A further strand identified is students being innovative and creative, which is named by all voices. “It is a practical approach to learning business skills” (Senior Manager D). Finally, there is the social justice strand that was identified by just two senior managers out of six. This strand is consistent with the fused definition provided in Chapter 1. Senior Manager B noted, “the magic is the social enterprise dimension which other schools can’t replicate”.

A general lack of reference to any social justice dimension by other SMT members is difficult to reconcile as in the marketing strategy and public events it is a point of difference and celebration.

7.3 Values

College values add a point of difference, and when asked directly SMT mainly refer to drawing on the values of Edmund Rice. He was a man, from Waterford, Ireland, who “cared for people on the margins of society” (Senior Manager C). In terms of reflecting values in YES, there is a shared understanding that students will not financially profit from the programme: “students have a sense of the responsibilities people have for the common good as opposed to just personal profit” (Senior Manager B).

The YES model’s uniqueness is a capacity to be inclusive of the Catholic Church values: “if you were following a model of enterprise where it’s profit at all costs and there wasn’t a consideration for the Catholic social teaching on ethics of dignity of the worker and the common good you would have a problem” (Senior Manager A). An acknowledgment exists that refinement is always necessary: “at times some of the products and what they do for social justice can be a little bit tokenistic so you have to work with that” (Senior Manager A). In sum, the SMT sees no inconsistency between school and Catholic Church values, and those of the YES programme.

7.3.1. Rhetoric of Enterprise Matching the Deeds

In terms of rhetoric matching student achievements, what is reported in the media matches up with the YES reality. All the SMT members are clear that the model works through its “repetition of demonstrated successes for over seven years” (Senior Manager A). Senior managers are clear that social enterprise principles are practised: “no imbalance exists as union education is included within the model and the value of Catholic social teaching” (Senior Manager C). Despite this robust defence of the model, it is acknowledged in a positive context that issues exist: “we do always fall short of what we would like. It’s been a very good match and something we can be very proud of, and most of us blast in that reflective glory” (Senior Manager D). When pressed on this issue, a manager conceded that the “rhetoric of enterprise does mostly match up with the deeds” (Senior Manager C). Despite these two mild caveats, it seems the dominant view of the SMT that the rhetoric of enterprise matches deeds.

7.4 Management of Enterprise within the School

In terms of subject content, all the SMT members believe that responsibility should rest with teachers as well as those in the business community: “I think it should certainly involve the professionals in the industry” (Senior Manager B). The business community is important: “the guys [sic] who receive the products from the education system are business and they should have a big role to play” (Senior Manager D). There is clearly shared support for business having a key role in both content and delivery of enterprise programmes. In conjunction with this open-door view to business, there is agreement that the YES remain elite with access restricted. Senior Manager B states, “If YES was taught within the curriculum in social studies or economics, a loss would occur in media profiling”. A collective view exists that while EE should be taught to all students, YES should remain unique.

7.4.1. The Financing of EE

Aspects of the funding of the YES programme are treated differently from a school budget perspective. Each year, the BoT provides an interest-free loan of \$1,000 for each YES team (Field Notes: 02/04/2005; 09/04/2008; 16/03/2009). Officially YES, as any other extracurricular activity, is required to be self-funding. However, difference exists between school policy and the practice (Scott, 1990). Expenses were often unplanned; there is no attempt to apply a user-pays philosophy to YES students. During the year, students have full use of the office resources including stationery, postage and national phone calls (Field Notes: 12/06/2004; 15/07/2008). Large expenses are attached to the college credit card in October of each year relating to YES teams winning national awards (Field Notes: 05/11/2006; 03/11/2007; 08/11/2008). On two occasions when YES teams had a cultural focus, they were also accompanied by the schools’ Maori (Field Note: 06/11/2006) and Pacifica teachers (Field Note: 05/11/2010). The former college bursar on occasion expressed frustration at this unplanned, discretionary YES spending and annually asked where the money was coming from (Field Notes: 12/12/2007; 10/11/2008). Overall a different practice existed for the funding of YES as distinct from other school activities.

7.4.2. National and Regional YES Facilitators

Good facilitation of the YES programme is a mechanism for reducing workload pressures on teachers and enhancing the student experience. Senior management have unreserved praise for the national facilitator (YET): “I have been impressed by [the YET’s] vision, efficiency and effectiveness” (Senior Manager C). Further, they “found the CEO and other staff totally supportive and encouraging of the school” (Senior Manager B). When the new principal was appointed, a bunch of flowers arrived from the CEO of YET (Field Note: 07/06/2008). When the CEO of YET retired, bottles of school-labelled wine were dispatched to YET national office (Field Note: 23/08/2010).

In contrast, all SMT members negatively comment on regional facilitation: “it is political and that annoys me because I think the best product should win. I don’t think someone should get a prize because they are new” (Senior Manager D); and “there are clear issues over competence and professionalism” (Senior Manager B). This view on facilitation mirrors the views of students and other stakeholders.

7.4.3. Increased Teacher Workload

Acknowledgement exists that EE may cause an increase in teacher workload. From the perspective of the SMT, there is no apology for any increase in workload or changes in teaching techniques: “having business programmes within the curriculum will mean more work for teachers but this is twenty-first century work in facilitating learning rather [than] taking a lecture approach” (Senior Manager C). This hard-sell position is acknowledged, but a belief exists that increases in workload would be negligible. Another manager argues all that is required is an attitudinal change: “it is about a team approach, thinking outside the square in the teaching of any subject doesn’t require extra work, it requires a change in approach” (Senior Manager B). When asked if opportunities for dialogue existed with teachers on this issue, all responded that the the subject was non-negotiable: “we need to provide leadership on strategic issues such as enterprise; we are not negotiating on student learning” (Senior Manager A). SMT members are clear that teachers need to embrace enterprise values as a requirement to work at the school: “Passengers are not required: enterprise driving is required from all staff” (Senior Manager E).

7.5 Senior Management Strategic Thinking

There was a clear requirement and deliberate plan to generate a point of difference for the school. The SMT wanted a flagship programme and was indifferent about which it would be. All decision making and non-decision making was conducted to further this goal. Prior to enterprise becoming mainstream a battle was fought between two sibling programmes. Power defines what is good and enterprise prevailed. A transformation occurred and a new institutional identity now exists, along with a new way of thinking. Edmund Rice was once referred to as a ‘friend of the poor and marginalised’, now he is also referred to as ‘the entrepreneur’ (Field Note: 15/02/2008).

7.5.1. The ‘Rock and Water’ Battle

Prior to YES becoming mainstream at the case study school, a battle between two rival programmes occurred. Both programmes were initiated at the same time with the SMT intent on making the school famous. The battle was between the programmes of YES and ‘Rock and Water’.

It was initially intended that the ‘Rock and Water’ programme would provide a new competitive edge. It was an education programme that was embraced globally. ‘Rock and Water’ was rolled out as a new way of interaction with boys through physical and social teaching. It employed a physical approach to develop personal and social skills in boys. The programme had the full backing of the SMT and the BoT. ‘Rock and Water’ initially generated some excitement. One student noted:

I was on duty in the office the day ‘Rock and Water’ training was going to begin for staff. College was suspended for half a weekday and staff were told to attend on that day and over the weekend. We students knew it was important, the special seats from the chapel were moved to the hall the day before. The principal was in an elevated mood, he was talking to support staff in the office area about the prospects of the television cameras coming to the college and talked about his wife bringing in some new training gear for him to wear. (Student Voice F)

The intention was to provide a point of difference from all other Catholic and state schools in New Zealand.

Weaknesses in the 'Rock and Water' programme were soon identified. The SMT had concerns about the operation of the scheme and questioned why all staff were not adopting the rituals within classes (Field Note: 15/04/2004). Further criticism of the programme came from two sources: students and teachers. These two groups were potential barriers to successful implementation and were targeted in material that showcased the programme. "The holistic nature of the programme sits very well beside the special character of the school: this is a real plus" (Aoraki, 2004, p. 13).

Opposition and resistance from students were at first evident: "students themselves were initially somewhat sceptical, but have become very positive. They appreciate the range and variety of techniques learned" (Aoraki, 2004, p. 14). Students were clearly aware the purpose of the programme was to generate publicity: "the programme was mentioned in each health class and in school newsletters, and was going to solve all ills within the school including bullying, drug and alcohol abusive plus providing resilience" (Student D). Staff were "looking forward to becoming a full 'Rock and Water literate' school" (Aoraki, 2004, p. 13). Yet, in reality teachers were dismissive, one overtly questioning before a class the benefits of the scheme, suggesting it was akin to fascism (Field Note: 20/05/2004). Opposition from both students and teachers to the 'Rock and Water' programme was continuous. The programme progressively lost its appeal and momentum within the school.

As a result of a loss of momentum, a modified 'Rock and Water' programme was integrated into the health programme. A rebranding occurred. 'Rock and Water' was also given an embracing Maori name of *Te Huarahi Pai* (Pathways Forward). The programme now focused on "resilience, affirming diversity, goal setting and time management" (Smith, 2006, p. 7). However, as the YES programme started to generate awards and media publicity, the 'Rock and Water' programme lost its status within the school.

The YES programme emerged as the preferred programme to advance the interests of the case study school: "it was a showdown between which programme was going to dominate at the school. The YES teacher was way smarter. Having trophies donated by a rich businessman for enterprise students, but were named after the donor and Blessed Edmund Rice. It was a very slick move" (Student F). Further, "I am glad enterprise won out. The 'Rock and Water' programme was a joke and a little weird" (Student D). A new culture

emerged with a focus on EE led by YES programme success. Senior Manager A noted “YES has come to successfully dominate and define our school: good learning and media coverage has occurred”.

7.6 Development of a Culture of Marketing

The SMT have, at the case study school, supported and resourced EE. The approach has yielded significant dividends including favourable media attention. Further, values of enterprise were able to be woven into the existing values of the school. This provided a shield for enterprise programmes.

The power of promoting enterprise within the college has been attributed to the college principals and YES teacher. Also identified are external stakeholders. A justification for the continuance and intensification of enterprise within the school has been the power of media exposure. Competition between schools is relentless and ongoing: “whether we agree with it, or like it or not, we are in a free market model with schools, your public profile is extremely important, in terms of school standing in the community” (Senior Manager B). Students have also been identified as part of the power equation. It is suggested students are now jointly driving the culture of enterprise: “there is definitely a culture and I think it’s primarily driven by the boys, an interest to be involved in the YES. The boys are a significant driver” (Senior Manager B). However, it is noted that students still need to be provided with support: “no matter how bright they are it takes someone with the drive, enthusiasm, a mission. The YES teacher had the spark that can start fires” (Senior Manager A). Thus, power is shared by both the SMT and YES teacher, but students are also identified as part of the shared equation of power.

Acknowledgment of shared power and the need for a ‘spark’ is reflected in a letter from the former principal to the YES teacher, prior to a national award ceremony:

Your Enterprise Award is well deserved and perhaps overdue. I will be with you in spirit in Wellington for the National Young Enterprise Awards on 31st October 2007. I am sure the Governor-General will be giving more than one trophy to our school. Thank you for all your energy and vision with YES and for everything you have done. You have taken Young Enterprise to the highest possible level

and as well, you have been an inspirational manager. People now know where the school is and what we stand for. I am grateful for the support you gave me and for your dedication to the college (Former principal, personal communication, 22 August 2007).

Over time, the once integral role and influence of the initial YES teacher has diminished as more teachers are now delivering enterprise; sole teacher power had dissipated over time. It also noted the integral role of both principals. This perspective is supported by correspondence issued by the former principal responding to an invitation, from the CEO of the ENZT, for the school to become an enterprise school:

The College would like to be recognised as an Enterprise School and we are keen to become a pilot school in this regard. I believe that enterprise will be relevant to our boys, and lead them towards a future where they can contribute to the development of the New Zealand economy (principal, personal communication, 3 May 2005).

This letter clearly sets out the principal's reasoning for placing the school on an enterprise pathway: included is the reasoning of the national economic interest. Internally it had become clear that intent was to gain a competitive advantage over other schools in terms of growth, profile and building on the success of the YES team StopCom. This message was articulated at a school staff meeting but not in the context of a clear decision, rather as an opportunity: "we have the possibility to shine for perspective parents like never before" (Field Note: 24/05/2005). In sum, both the SMT members and YES teacher were responsible for the adoption of the enterprise school model.

7.6.1. A Competitive Advantage

A competitive enterprise model is based on Catholic values and a freedom for students to take risks. This has given YES teams a competitive advantage: "I think it is important students come up with a social justice dimension to products" (Senior Manager D). Further, the scope for student freedom (power) is integral to the school's competitive advantage in this competition: "the SMT allow for a lot of freedom without impediments, so there is a freedom to experiment, a freedom to run with ideas without a whole lot of bureaucratic approvals and a willingness to take informed risk" (Senior Manager B). Along

with the freedom provided to students, community partnership is encouraged and deemed integral to the social enterprise model. Dynamics of community engagement are recorded in a media article relating to the YES team Urban Warriors. Students had used a dynamic range of partnerships.

We had meetings with members of the community, kaumatua from our iwi, our principal, the Board of Trustees and union representatives. An important mentor was General Manager of Ngai Tau Properties and international children's author Margaret Mahy. At our school, setting up a business which has a social-conscience is the basis of all our enterprise projects. It was the schools belief that keeping to those ideals encouraged meaningful and strong relationships with the community (*Christchurch Mail*, 2007, p. 11).

Despite a great public article, a sub-story exists that identifies clear school support. The mentor referred to was a college old boy, the international children's author is a neighbour of the school principal, and a children's literacy advisor who is not mentioned was a parent of a former college student. A union connection was facilitated by the YES teacher (Field Note: 03/05/2007). School networks and a values-added approach assist in providing a competitive advantage. It was suggested by teachers who oppose enterprise (see Chapter 9) that a values approach is exploited by the college and tokenistic in nature. This is rejected by a senior manager:

I would like to think that many of our boys will always remember the emphasis we have placed on enterprise. Some people might say it was tokenism; I say no you could say a lot of stuff Jesus did when he healed the poor or feed the hungry was tokenism. We can devalue everything by giving a word like that to things – I don't see it as tokenism at all (Senior Manager D).

A culture exists in which students are encouraged to have the freedom to take risks, are supported by a proactive SMT, and can draw on wider college community links.

7.6.2. Media Exposure

The culture of enterprise at the case study school, promoted by the SMT, has created positive media exposure. Favourable media attention has generated a sense of expectation and created a cycle of self-fulfilment. A focus of coverage is on the winning, the social

enterprise model, the alignment of products to the environment and contemporary societal issues. Media coverage takes two forms: external coverage of events and activities (*The Christchurch Star*, 2006, p. 2; *The Press*, 2005, p. 5, 2007, p. 3) and paid coverage initiated by the school. An example of the latter is a quarter-page advertisement with photographs, and content based on YES success. The heading and text was as follows:

A seamless Education for your son – Years 7 to 13 – The school community wishes to congratulate its Young Enterprise Teams on achieving regional and realizing two of the six national awards. (*The Press*, 2007, p. 3)

Self-congratulatory advertisements are typical of the approach employed by the SMT. YES activities were also reported in national, regional and local publications. Media attention is consistently courted for the social enterprise model and associated products.

7.7 Winners and Losers

The SMT identified no losers: “all students at college through role modelling and shared enterprise values are winners; it is part of our special character” (Senior Manager B). “The school as a whole has benefited through positive media attention, it is the reason behind our greatly increased roll as success led to further success in cultural, sporting and academic pursuits” (Senior Manager C). The community are also identified as winners; “groups that our young men have engaged with have been diverse, ranging from Muslim girls to a local Bhutanese refugee community” (Senior Manager D).

One manager noted “fairly much anybody who has wanted to get involved has been able to. The rest of the school has been welcomed into product launches, and no barriers to engagement exist” (Senior Manager B). As previously indicated in this chapter and Chapter 5, this is not the case. There is no open entry for students seeking to participate in the YES. There is a public perception that YES is a generalised programme, but in reality it is limited to a few students each year. A local MP noted in a letter to the principal that “it was great to see all your boys excited, inspired and successful in an area of endeavour that is so important for the future of our young people and our country” (member of parliament, personal communication, 8 August 2006). Reference was made in this letter to the national economic argument. A similar congratulatory letter also reflects this sentiment from the

Minister of Education:

The case study school has an impressive record of achievement. The YES scheme will equip students with the entrepreneur skills they will need to make a positive contribution to society in the 21st century. It is evident these young men are working in an environment where social-responsibility is actively encouraged (Maharey, personal communication, 2 August 2006).

These letters to the SMT provide a validation of the YES model; praise is regularly shared with the college community at assemblies (Field Notes: 02/09/2006; 15/08/2006). No losers are ever referred to; the presumption is everybody is a winner and no barriers exist to participation. A final afterthought of one SMT participant sums it all up: “I can’t see any losers at all and if there are losers it’s because they are losers and not because of enterprise” (Senior Manager D).

While SMT does not identify losers, it does identify obstacles in terms of resistance and it is interesting to note how this resistance is labelled. The first obstacles identified are teachers. It is the view of the SMT that teachers not supporting the enterprise model are motivated by professional jealousy (Senior Manager C). A small group of disaffected teachers were identified by all members of the SMT who were summarily dismissed as non-progressive or irrelevant: “occasionally you will get a teacher who says they have lost their students from class due to enterprise and I think they are the losers because I don’t think they have seen the gains because learning is not only in the classroom” (Senior Manager A). Resistance is also labelled in other negative ways. These teachers “are politically left and unionised. In a Catholic school, you have the underlying ethics of social teaching and opposition can come from people who are fearful enterprise comes in as part of a right-wing approach” (Senior Manager B).

In addition to teacher barriers, there was reference to one YES team that could potentially have caused risk. One experience was referred to: “the team went in too big and with too much money involved without having the personal commitment to see the project through [this was the Accilink YES team]” (Senior Manager C). It was the view of some teachers opposed to enterprise that a financially successful business mentor was running the school. On occasion, the mentor took up residence in the principal’s office (Field Note: 12/05/2006). The principal intervened and issued a confidential memorandum to YES

students, each aged 16 years, with his concerns relating to profit distribution, company management and the intense involvement of the mentor:

I have concerns about the financial arrangement for Accilink. It is imperative that the directors, the shareholders, investors and the college have a clear understanding of how the profits from your enterprise will be distributed. Further I want you to consult with an accountant so you can develop your protocols in order that these be clear, manageable and acceptable to all involved (principal memorandum, 10 August 2006).

However, these initial comments were moderated later due to the involvement and influence of internal and external stakeholders: “the Accilink campaign has been outstanding. The news media coverage has been exceptional and brought much credit to you and to the college however it is important that we fully consider financial implications to avoid adverse publicity later” (principal, personal communication, 11 August 2006).

The YES team showcased what issues could arise in a small school where a dominant business mentor had gained a position of influence. Although that year was unique, it foreshadowed a risk of excessive business involvement. Despite this year of excessive entrepreneurship and a small amount of identified teacher opposition to enterprise, it was the view of SMT that an enterprise culture needed to exist.

7.7.1. Business Influence

In spite of potential risk being identified, there was collective SMT support for business influence within EE and the YES programme. No concerns exist about any negative effects on the college community. Certainly, the school is not identified as a loser, or as having been weakened due to the role of business involvement in EE. Indeed, there is an explicit call among the senior managers for more involvement: “overall, levels of business support could be raised” (Senior Manager C). There was a perception that business provides the tools and resources of the marketplace: “I would like the faculties to be getting more businesses in talking about how specific subjects can aid their business” (Senior Manager A). Business involvement is now accepted as a natural feature of the college environment.

7.7.2. EE: Equality of Opportunity

In advocating the benefits of EE, there are clear implications for equality and equity between schools. This is an important consideration as an issue of moral responsibility for a school that values social justice and advocates for the marginalised in society. The SMT members respond to questions on these issues by acknowledging barriers, but argue that they can be overcome. Lower socio-economic schools are clearly disadvantaged: “I find schools in a low-decile area are generally losers all the way through. But often small business can lift people out of poverty” (Senior Manager D). Further, “they are going to have to compete on a different level. T-shirts and low-level products is just the way” (Senior Manager A). These views of the SMT are from a position of status and power. As previously indicated, for example in the above data on publicity, a useful network of parents, business mentors, journalists, and neighbours is in place through the old boys network. It seems a shared perspective of the SMT is that any school can achieve in the YES programme. It also seems in the interests of a national winning school to believe and articulate the principles of fairness and equality existing between schools.

7.8 Senior Management: Model of Power

The SMT at the case study school is committed to the enterprise model. As the above data show, this is supported by a strong rhetoric of enterprise. There is an absence of concrete decisions that fall within the first dimension of power. Opposition to enterprise presides with a few ‘non-progressive teaching staff’, and is motivated by professional jealousy according to all the SMT. No specific behaviours or incidents are identified by the SMT of conflict over EE. Management were determined to have a marketing point of difference for the college in 2003. There was initial indifference as to what programme would generate the point of difference. Once a decision was made between programmes there was a strong focus by SMT to support YES.

The second dimension provides an insight into non-decision making and agenda setting. A clear awareness of enterprise issues exists, in both positive and negative terms, but there is no attempt by the SMT to engage in consultation or shared decision making with any stakeholders. An example is provided by a SMT decision to discontinue its proactive support of the ‘Rock and Water’ programme. There was no transparent decision making.

The programme was left to flounder without discussion or communication with stakeholders within the college community. Such an approach differed from the promise of hope expressed when the programme was implemented.

Discretionary and unplanned spending by the SMT provides an example of non-decision making – it just happened. Enterprise was a dominant value at the college as such practice had become accepted rules of the game (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962).

A clear difficulty exists with senior management unable to articulate a consistent definition of EE. The SMT should be able to provide a clear definition for a programme being delivered. However, a clear understanding does exist that enterprise will generate an increase in workload for teachers. Once again, such an increase has never been formally discussed with teachers despite a shared awareness by both parties. Such a discussion would be adverse to the interests of enterprise. A set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and instructional procedures are ‘rules of the game’. These operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of groups at the expense of others (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). The SMT is clearly supportive of the predominant values of enterprise. No purposeful or structured discussions are scheduled on issues of workload and definition – they are off the agenda.

There are clear links between culture, power and values and they all come within the scope of the third dimension of power. Values provide both a competitive point of difference to the school and a masking of institutional power that is operative. There is a clear assumption by the SMT that an absence of grievances relating to enterprise equals genuine consent. Despite belief in this assumption, there may well be a false or manipulated consensus in place within the college community. Social forces and institutional practice encouraged by the SMT have transformed the culture of the college. These have involved enterprise practices and rituals practised on a weekly basis and at special school occasions.

The SMT is very clear in protecting the status and privileged position of the YES programme, and their roles. Power as domination exists within the school, which ensures such protection. A position now exists in which there is a rule of anticipated reactions in place. A sense of student responsibility is expressed by the SMT which suggests power is very clearly operative. It is serving “to reproduce and reinforce power structures and

relations” and “contribute[s] to their continued functioning” (Lukes, 2005, p. 63). From the perspective of the SMT, no need exists to render any action: activity is unnecessary. The SMT can achieve the appropriate outcomes; students have the values of responsibilities embedded, without having to act, because of a favourable alignment of social relations and values. Stakeholders in the college community now “anticipate expected reactions to unwelcome activity (or inactivity) on their part, thereby aiming to forestall overt coercion: a clear example self-censorship” (Lukes, 2005, p. 78). Such protection may well be at the expense of the real interests of others within the school community. A false consciousness or misrepresentation exists that any student can engage in the YES programme and be part of the dream; such a position is not the case.

There is a shared negative view held about regional YES facilitators: “it’s a bit frustrating because they like to share the prizes around and that is a little bit annoying” (Senior Manager D). Clearly, the SMT identify the regional coordination as a threat to YES success at the college along with any open access for full students’ participation.

The SMT has identified no losers through the college’s YES participation. It is generally accepted that “the school as a whole has benefited through the positive media attention; it is the reason behind our greatly increased roll” (Senior Manager C). The community are also considered winners. There is a shared support for the involvement of the business community and an understanding that business provides tools, resources and access to the marketplace. There is also a power of ‘old boys’ who consistently support EE. They are the mentors, purchasers and facilitators of many YES products. The SMT acknowledge ‘old-boy’ support but the complexity and impact of this network is understated (see Chapter). This network clearly supports the enterprise culture at the school.

A linkage between cultures of power, values and media are captured within Lukes’ (2005) third dimension of power. The SMT is unified and committed to ensuring the privileged position and power of YES and EE continues.

Continuance of the current form of EE requires the SMT to retain a wilful blindness to critical voices. Some voices are not referred to, and no opportunities exist to be heard. EE, as applied at the case study school, shows a nexus of different operative power interests. Voices not heard are consistent with power that is at “it’s most effective when least

observable” (Lukes, 2005, p. 1). The lack of any observable grievance does not necessarily provide genuine consensus of the prevailing allocation of values. To “assume the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus” (Lukes, 2005, p. 28). Thus, an absence of voice does not equate with a genuine acceptance or consensus for EE.

7.9 Conclusion

Power emerges as a key theme in this chapter. Power resides in relationships: the relationships between senior managers and those within the school and external stakeholders. Formal authority and influence are aspects of power, and its capacity and exercise have been mobilised to achieve a very clear goal of adopting a programme that would create a point of difference. SMT strategic thinking in creating a marketing point of difference has been successful. A systematic trial and evaluation of two programmes occurred. The YES programme prevailed. A culture developed around this programme that drew on existing school values to create a point of difference.

Senior managers identified a small group of teachers as a weak form of opposition to EE. It was also related that excessive mentor involvement could create potential problems to the enterprise model; however, business involvement is seen as natural feature of the college environment. Such involvement is seen as providing increased opportunities for student learning.

The existence of strong old boy support for YES is referred to by the SMT. This involvement is very powerful in the continuance of EE. The networks have assisted many YES companies.

The SMT struggled, like students and teachers, to provide a definition for EE. Many skills and competencies were named but a consistent definition was lacking. Only two SMT members were able to relate the college’s well-rehearsed point of enterprise difference as being a social justice dimension.

Operationally, the SMT raises similar concerns and themes identified by student participants and by BoT members (see Chapter 8) around issues of authenticity and

regional facilitation. However, the SMT is clear in identifying only winners, with no losers named. A mirroring of concerns and themes of YES participation provides for sound triangulation.

Chapter 8

Board of Trustee Member Voices of Enterprise Education

8.1 Introduction

The BoT provides governance at the case study school. This involves oversight of the SMT. Regular information on the operations of the YES programme is provided to the BoT. Over the past seven years, the school has consistently performed well in terms of government and Church performance reviews. The ERO provides a significant three year review on every school, which includes governance. The BoT are to be commended as “many senior students choose social enterprise, a business model, based on social justice principles where students have gained regional, national and international success” (ERO, 2008, p. 4).

8.2 Definition of EE

A scattered series of enterprising attributes and skills are identified by trustees when asked to provide a definition for EE (Renwick & Gray, 2001). Skills learnt by students are identified, including “problem solving, working co-operatively with other students, they come up with ideas” (Trustee C). Further, “in my view students become more confident, gain time management and commercial skills” (Trustee A). This view is consistent with the public comments made by this trustee at a community event facilitated by the local city council (Field Note: 12/02/2008). All responses are essentially skills-based. As with other stakeholders, no standard or consistent definition is provided. Two trustees noted that scope exists for enterprise to be integrated more fully into the curriculum. This suggestion mirrors that provided by students (see Chapter 5). Surprisingly, only one trustee referred to the unique social justice dimensions of the model. At BoT meetings, “we often discussed the model and felt quite comfortable with the way it has operated” (Trustee C). Despite this one reference to the unique social enterprise model, there exists a generalised agreement as to skills and attributes that students derive from EE.

8.3 Values

Unlike providing a consistent definition of EE, there is an absolute clarity around the values that underlie the school: “we have a social justice value underlying all parts of the college; it is a Catholic school and as such is required to educate its pupils in line with the teachings of the Church” (Trustee A). It is made clear by trustees that values should be reflected in each subject area taught. There is no inconsistency identified between the values of the Catholic Church, case study school and YES programme: “the SMT and the YES teacher have a clear understanding there needs to be a component of social justice and social awareness integrated within the model” (Trustee A). The Church view is entirely consistent with the school social enterprise model. As with the voice of the SMT (see Chapter 7), there is an alignment of definition. The BoT has a clear and consistent view: values of Church, school and enterprise have been successfully combined in a culture of enterprise.

8.3.1. Rhetoric of Enterprise

An invitation was extended to each trustee to reconcile the rhetoric of enterprise against its deeds. The invitation was not accepted by any trustee. However, a partial reconciliation was later attempted by one: “mostly a match occurs; I think one year with the YES team (Accilink, 2007) perhaps got a little out of control it was difficult to get straight answers. It was hard for us to ascertain where the problems laid” (Trustee C). The rhetoric is important to change the dominant culture of state dependency or welfare in New Zealand” (Trustee B). The generalised responses and non-responses indicate a dilemma for trustees regarding the matching of rhetoric and deeds performed by students.

8.4 College Management: Teacher Participation and the Curriculum

Board members shared a collective view that both principals and the YES teacher have been collectively responsible for the success of the YES programme. They were collectively referred to as the “power” behind the success. It was noted that the initiation and growth of enterprise would not have occurred without a shared approach: “the enterprise model is the work of the YES teacher and former principal who recognised the talents of individual teachers and provided considerable freedom” (Trustee B). Devolution

of power is deemed to have occurred between the SMT and students (see Chapter 7): “in the initial stages I would say the power came from the YES teacher. Then a student culture of success and expectation are now the drivers” (Trustee C).

In a national context, two trustees stated that the MoE also possess real power by opting out of any reasonability in the area of EE. The Ministry “through curriculum control has explicit power and capacity to pursue an enterprise agenda” (Trustee A). MoE power is seen as significant: “the bureaucrats reflect the whims of their political masters and have created the undefined status of enterprise” (Trustee B). The two trustees feel the bureaucrats have confirmed this position through non-intervention. Apart from defining enterprise values in the curriculum, no other proactive support or intervention has been provided. Such a position is cost neutral. As a result, a national position of non-intervention and non-decision making exists, which has influenced both the growth and development of EE.

8.5 Marketing

The BoT was aware of a significant media profile derived from the YES programme. Trustees exhibit a strong interest in the product selection to ensure alignment with the values of the school. A clear view was also held about quality control. All BoT members see the college competitive advantage resulting from good media exposure. There is no doubt the BoT would have overridden student and management wishes if an undesirable product was developed, “There was and currently is a possibility of a proposed product which could be socially unacceptable, if so we would intervene and it would be gone by lunch time” (Trustee C). This insight into BoT thinking relates a clear capacity and willingness to intervene to promote the interests of both the school and YES, and this is an expression of power.

It would appear, as with other stakeholders, values are being used to mask enterprise. Having a values-based approach in place makes enterprise more acceptable. The presentation of the social enterprise model is framed in a values context, which has proved to be successful for the college. The BoT is aware of the benefits of this model, seeks to ensure its continuance and will intervene to ensure its survival.

The model has provided benefits of increased roll growth (Trustee B). An increase in profile is also attributed to the former principal, who has leveraged YES success. “The success of enterprise programmes has raised the profile of the college, with the wider public and the business community, and added roll growth” (Trustee C). It is clear there is power being generated through media exposure, it is acknowledged by all trustees, and it has secured the place of EE at the case study school.

8.6 Winners and Losers

In terms of identifying losers within the school community and beyond, generalised responses were once again provided. Losers were identified as “people who do not understand the benefits of EE” (Trustee A), and elements within the Catholic Church who do not understand enterprise. “There is a reasonably strong element within the Church who see it as devotional and do not appreciate or see activities undertaken by Catholic schools in areas of social justice as not being Catholic” (Trustee B). Teachers were also specifically identified by two trustees as losers: “some teachers would be reluctant to take on new ideas largely because of an old way of thinking” (Trustee C). Further, “I am aware certain teachers within the schools are opposed to the teaching of EE. In the main these tend to be older staff members who are set in their ways and tend to oppose new initiatives often for the sake of opposition only” (Trustee B). In sum, losers are identified as those who do not understand or accept enterprise within and outside the school, and as specific teachers.

Beyond the case study school, issues of equity and equality between schools were highlighted. Trustees were asked to consider the issue of how low-decile schools in communities could compete and suggest what practical responses could be put in place. There was a shared acknowledgment that both fairness and equality issues existed. However, practical responses were limited: “I think maybe they can succeed in enterprise programmes; it is all about a positive attitude” (Trustee B). One trustee put the onus back on schools in terms of initial staff selection. The balance of BoT members did not feel able to respond. The responses provided were from a basis of privilege, power and institutional success. Although issues of equality and equity were acknowledged the only real barriers were identified as attitude and practice.

8.6.1. Business Influence

In their governance role, the BoT is aware of the potential for excessive business influence over the school (Crocombe et al., 1991; Wylie, 1995). Such an influence has raised a number of ethical issues. Was the college community the net-loser for accepting business support? Initially, there were concerns relating to the adoption of EE but over time these have dissipated into an acceptance: “I was concerned with what direction it might take: the possibility of a sole business focus and agenda at the expense of issues of social justice and special character” (Trustee C). An ethical dilemma arose when one business mentor (see Section 8.6) exercised a strong influence in the college community: “There were concerns about a lack of information and where it [enterprise] might be heading. We learnt from that experience. It made us more aware and questioned a little bit more” (Trustee C). Another issue arose with the donation of a series of Edmund Rice Enterprise Cups to be awarded to students annually. These were offered by a nationally prominent business person (National Advocate A). “This was one of those occasions where there had to be a balancing of the interests of the school with that of business. The joint name on the cups of Blessed Edmund Rice and the donor was a condition for accepting the gift” (Trustee C). Business influence is monitored by trustees. There exists a proximate memory of the mentor who exercised considerable influence. However, the BoT members have a shared belief that mechanisms are in place to ensure the business influence is probative and not prejudicial within the school.

8.7 Board of Trustees: Model of Power

There are no specific examples provided by the BoT of concrete decision making, consistent with the first dimension provided by Lukes’ (2005) model of power. BoT members share a collective view that both principals and the YES teacher have been responsible for the success of the YES programme. No decisions were made in the context of conflict. The only unspecified conflict identified was residual teacher opposition: “certain teachers within the schools are opposed to the teaching of EE” (Trustee B). Such generalised observations fail to meet the required standard for the first dimension, but indicate a grievance that fits within the second and third dimensions of Lukes’ (2005) model of power.

The second dimension of power is reflected in the lack of clarity and consistency over definition, and highlights a non-decision making role of the BoT (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). Ironically, two trustees point to the MoE in not providing leadership in terms of the definition or leadership of EE. The BoT was never provided a formal opportunity to approve EE. As an institutional practice, the BoT receives regular information on the operations of the YES programme through the SMT, and provides a constant source of support and encouragement. All trustees pay regular attention to the quality of the products, ensuring they align to the social enterprise model.

In terms of the second dimension of power, the BoT appear losers along with teachers (see Chapter 9). Both have been excluded from decision-making processes. “The enterprise model is the work of the YES teacher and former principal who recognised the talents of individual teachers and provided considerable freedom” (Trustee B). They either did not get a say or had to remain silent. Lukes’ (2005) model clearly acknowledges that power may be, and often is, exercised by confining the scope of decision making to relatively safe issues (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). It is clear a mobilisation of bias exists within the school that creates or reinforces barriers to the BoT airing any policy conflicts relating to enterprise. It appears those providing governance at the school have engaged in no material decision making (Dahl, 1961). Despite the receipt of information and a capacity to act, the BoT has had no role in relation to agenda setting or enterprise decision making.

The third dimension of power reveals the ‘suppressive and most insidious exercise of power’ at the college, which has generated an acceptance of enterprise as mainstream. The YES programme “takes on its own life; the students are the ones who want it to happen” (Trustee C). Enterprise is viewed as a natural characteristic of the college environment featuring an “appearance of consent and unanimity” (Lukes, 2005, p. 124). This represents a transmission of values and power that is supported by institutional structures and practice. BoT members report power sharing with students exist with respect to YES. Students could be seen as the subordinate who “out of prudence and fear, desire to carry favour, be shaped to appeal to the expectations of the powerful” (Lukes, 2005, p. 127).

The constant media successes of enterprise were acknowledged by all trustees. A successful fusion of school and enterprise values is also cited by members. The SMT and the YES teacher have a clear understanding that there “needs to be a component of social

justice and social awareness integrated with YES” (Trustee A).

Trustees are clear about the existence of winners within the school community. The SMT, YES teacher and students are deemed winners and no losers were identified. There is acknowledgment of the fairness and equality issues that exist between schools. Suggestions offered to resolve inequalities relate to both practice and attitude. This advice is provided from a position of both power and privilege.

In terms of the results – a reconciliation of the rhetoric of enterprise against its deeds – one trustee provided a generalised response but others declined to answer or offered a vague response. A clear picture is painted of a BoT that is happy with the development of EE and supportive of the culture.

8.8 Conclusion

Both teachers and SMT provide no consistency in definition for EE. This position is mirrored by BoT members. Enterprising skills and competencies are identified but that is where any commonality ends (Renwick & Gray, 2001). Only one trustee identified a social justice emphasis in a definition of EE, which mirrors a similar response rate of the SMT. Despite a lack of consistency, lengthy and comprehensive responses were provided and all emphasised the value of business (Watt, 2002).

In terms of college management of enterprise, two principals and the YES teacher have been identified as the initiators and supporters. Two trustees referred to student expectations of success that have evolved into a culture within the college. Barriers are identified as teachers who oppose enterprise out of professional jealousy or an unwillingness to change.

As part of the new culture, marketing and positive media exposure has become interwoven. Trustees are conscious of this link, which has resulted in good roll-growth and generated a point of difference for the school. All trustees have an expectation that any YES product will align with the values of the school. Despite this expectation, only one trustee provided a response to questions of alignment between enterprise rhetoric and deeds. However, all BoT members acknowledged, despite their support for EE, that there are deficits in the

current curriculum.

Winners and potential winners were identified by trustees. These include students, the college and the MoE. Power is identified as being shared by the YES teacher and SMT. Voices of opposition are acknowledged within the college community and beyond but little weight is attached to their voices. Since the case study school is well resourced and of special character, observations are made from both a privileged and powerful position. Insight is required into the rationale and strength of voice of those who are opposed to EE within the case study school.

Chapter 9

Voices of Opposition to Enterprise at the Case Study School

9.1 Introduction

Power emerges as the focus of this chapter. An insight is provided as to why unexpressed opposition to enterprise exists at the case study school. Voices of groups, within the school community, who have expressed opposition to EE, are captured. The voice of non-enterprise students was captured. Parents and staff members were selected on the basis of having, at some point, expressed opposition to EE.

Students interviewed included an entire class of students, all non-YES, who chaired the Student Council. This was the formalised student representative and advocacy group which existed within the college. These annually elected councils consisted of representatives from each year level, which met on a weekly basis to discuss concerns and projects. These students would be aware of all negative and positive comments relating to EE. The capture of non-participant student voice provided little difficulty. Positive engagements occurred with respect to the logistics of interviewing and good responses to research questions. All students were initially approached with a letter outlining the research and requesting their participation. Sending a letter, in advance, provided the option for proposed participants to say no without pressure or undue influence. This approach was also applied to seven parents and resulted in positive responses.

Parents and teachers were approached on the basis of having made negative comments, relating to enterprise education as recorded in research field notes. Research field notes were collected over a range of events including staff meetings, enterprise events and faculty meetings.

A different approach was applied to engaging teachers who had expressed opposition to the enterprise culture. Nine teachers were interviewed. My initial scoping, prior to undertaking this PhD, indicated this group were going to be problematic to engage. Concerns existed in relation to disclosure: ease of participant identification within a small school, potential for professional disadvantage, and the ambiguous role of the researcher (see Chapter 4). Eleven teachers were initially approached with only nine agreeing to participation. The two teachers refusing engagement cited a hostility to anything to do with

enterprise including research activity. A level of comfort was realised for all teacher participants who responded in an open manner. The passage of time from initial contact to the interview process and the researcher no longer being employed at the college were material. Also assurances of confidentiality with respect to the research process and the sharing of findings provided a sense of safety. The interviewing process provided the first structured opportunity to share teacher stories and perspectives on the enterprise culture.

Each participant had at least two specific areas or concern they wanted to share, and provided more limited responses to other questions. All participants continue to have engagement with the college through an employment relationship, still having children attending the school, or still participating in old boy events.

9.2 Definition of EE

All student participants incorporated a profit-orientation in each definition, and over half made reference to the special nature of the enterprise model. Reference was made to a need for supporting the ‘marginalised’. A clear consensus existed on the need to make “a profit in order to make a difference to those in need within the community” (Student M). It is of interest that students who spoke solely of the need to make a profit did so with precise and unambiguous language. Student N said that in defining EE there needs to be an operational business “with a view to making a profit”, and Student O added that this includes “planning, development, distribution, sales and then realising a profit”. These definitions are very different to student skills-based definition provided by other participants and stakeholders in this research (Renwick and Gray, 2001; Hytti and O’Gorman, 2004; Dwerryhouse, 2001).

EE as defined by teachers revealed a negative flavour or context once a clear profit-orientated definition was made. The “making of profits from engaging in commercial endeavours” (Teacher G) and “undertaking an activity with a view to profit” (Teacher J) was representative of baseline definitions. All teachers then built on these definitions. These included reference to “winning at all costs” (Teacher K), and “students who are driven to succeed along with those who support them” (Teacher F). Three teachers included in their definition how enterprise was practiced. Enterprise was seen as an

exercise in telling “most teachers and students, we who support enterprise, will do what we want and you all can suck it up” (Teacher I). Such a collective response is both clear and unambiguous about the practice of enterprise as experienced by this group of teachers. The experience was negative.

Voices of parents mirror those of teachers in terms of a profit baseline definition. When parents move beyond this baseline definition differences emerge. The responses ranged from those who included a ‘marginalised’ element to those who went on to define enterprise as limited to a narrow group of students. One parent believed that enterprise was “a game where only a few can play by invitation only” (Parent C) and another talked of the pursuit of “business endeavours including self-interest, money and promotion for the elite few” (Parent E). A contribution was made by one parent that, “far from supporting the marginalised in the community the school was intent on systematically exploiting the most vulnerable” (Parent F). This comment was a shared initial view of EE but after a number of years, a change occurred: a clear acknowledgement of community support now exists. Neutral comments included reference to “business equating with risk-taking and an acceptable education subject” (Parent B), and Parent D noted that enterprise has a “clear definition within college of operating an ethical business-model which embraces Edmund Rice values”. Unlike the consistency of both students and teacher definitions, those provided by parents were initially fragmented and lacked unity.

It is evident from these comments that no clear or consistent definition of enterprise existed. A consistency existed around a baseline definition including a need for profit.

9.3 Values and the Practice of Enterprise

Few students criticised the practice of enterprise and its alignment with Catholic Church values. A generalised acceptance of an aligned fusion of values existed. This alignment is more meaningful because those expressing it were not enterprise students. A clear and purposeful understanding exists: “we know enterprise is about all who live in the community; the tricky part [is] to support the marginalised” (Student M). Student N agreed: “we are told to absorb everything and to use all our skills creativity to live a full

life. I interpret that to be learning about enterprise and business”. Reference was made to an incident (referred to in Chapter 5) where the local priest at a college mass criticised EE: “the priest placed a critical emphasis on enterprise within the college and said that acts of kindness and support needed to occur in a private and silent manner. I felt this undervalued YES achievements” (Student R). Another student suggested “these comments did generate reflection by students but I think it was more of a critique of the SMT as there was an obvious friction” (Student R). A clear theme is evident that, in spite of the priest’s observations, students believe a fusion of values exists.

A cluster of negativity was evident from all teacher responses in relation to a fusion of enterprise and school values. Words expressed were negative and not one supportive comment was provided from this group. Themes of elitism, an incompatibility between spirituality and the marketplace were mentioned by half of the teachers. Equality of access was also seen as an issue: “everyone can attend church and have spirituality; it appears now everyone can participate in enterprise” (Teacher F). Along with the issue of equality of access, a clear theme emerged that it is “simply not possible to marry the spiritual with the marketplace unless of course you have the pleasure of working at the case study school” (Teacher H). The shared theme of the teacher group was an inability to fuse values and a lack of equality of access to EE.

The majority of parent responses fitted in between the extremes expressed by both teachers and students. A middle ground was identified: “I disagree there is a place for both. It is a competitive world out there and students have to be aware of what is required to succeed in life” (Parent A), and “students need to be challenged and fully use all their talents” (Parent C). A different, teacher-aligned view was expressed by one parent who equated enterprise with gambling: “it’s like, visiting the casino with the school and community money and betting on a game that may bring publicity or media attention is not in my view aligned to Catholic values” (Parent C). Five parents indicated after initial reservations about the compatibility of values that they are now comfortable with the model. Two typical responses were “on reflection I have changed my views, a good balance now exists” (Parent D), and as “as long as enterprise is delivered in a fair and consistent manner I am happy” (Parent C). With one exception, parent participants have now become more comfortable with the alignment of values between Church and enterprise. Parent

acceptance of the fusion appears to be mirrored in how enterprise is operationally delivered to students at the case study school.

A key element of EE involves businesspeople visiting schools to provide mentoring assistance and inspiration. A discussion of the motives of business visitors provided an insight into power relations. Student and parent groups agreed on a motivation for engagement. Students identified altruistic motives and self-worth as key motivators. Student R said “it provides a very relevant and real dimension to what theory we learn”, and Student P said “business people are sharing in a positive context just putting knowledge on the table, providing an insight and enriching the community”. Parents identified honourable motivations including “shaping the lives of young people” (Parent D), and community engagement was also recorded by two parents. Moreover, Parent A identified a base need “to contribute to community enrichment”. One parent noted a wider economic national interest but all the parents’ responses were focused on community engagement. Parent F acknowledged a perceived desire, of visiting business people, to add value to the economy but also noted sadness: “young people have no choice but to listen; students could be taken in by this small exposure to the business world”. Despite this one variant perspective, a common belief exists that individual businesspeople are supporting enterprise out of a sense of community. Two parents made vague reference to a neo-liberal agenda which was not supported by the majority of parents who perceived businesspeople as seeking to share experience with young students.

An alternative position was consistently expressed by teachers as to motivations for the visiting of businesspeople. All their responses challenged the value and worth of such visits. Teacher G stated these people “enjoy playing teacher without any of the responsibilities of classroom management/assessment”, and similarly Teacher I noted “it is wrong [and] that is why we have teacher registration to exclude amateurs coming in and taking over the teaching of young people”. A theme was also evident relating to the creation of student hero worship of businesspeople. The issue of equality between schools was also raised. Teachers referred to the geographical and socio-economic barriers of businesspeople effectively engaging with schools, and all were resistant. Two parents indicated an awareness of this dilemma. Parent B suggested that “a teacher [should be] present in the classroom with the business speaker”, and Parent C said, “fairness is exhibited by ensuring balance and that business people don’t engage with the good

students exclusively”. It was evident that teacher opposition existed to enterprise practice at the case study school, specifically engagement with businesspeople.

9.4 Moral or Ethical Dilemmas

A scoping of moral or ethical dilemmas provided a useful approach for identifying specific events which have shaped participant views on EE. Only one student expressed a moral dilemma, which focused on what would happen beyond the school. Student O noted, “I sometimes think of other schools, some poor, that don’t have the resources of our school or the shared passion of the SMT and YES teacher. We are advantaged”. In contrast, all teachers fully responded to this question citing a range of examples. A constant theme was of no “fairness or transparency” (Teacher G), and Teacher F felt that YES was inappropriate at the college “as greed is not an attractive value”. Another teacher talked about “being manipulated by dark forces beyond the school” (Teacher H). When asked to elaborate, he talked about the influence of big business. Parents also reported specific concerns: excessive SMT access by students, a need for balance, and the viewing of enterprise as a game. Parent E noted, “on numerous occasions I saw YES teams in the Principal’s office with their teacher planning and strategising the next move”. Two parents also referred to the random nature of enterprise and equated it with a game: “it is a game played by a lot of adults to gain for the school and themselves” (Parent C). Further, Teacher G noted, “enterprise equates with a controlled chess game with teachers telling students to perform the next move”. The identified ethical and moral dilemmas are reflected and consistent with previous perspectives on church and enterprise values. Perspectives from each participant group are strikingly similar.

9.5 College Management

When exploring issues relating to SMT and enterprise all participants clearly identified the former principal, as the initiator of enterprise, without any consultation. This occurred early during each interview. A variety of views were expressed on the former principal and it is appropriate that his engagement with enterprise should be examined initially.

Reference to the former principal on every interview occasion led to a fuller a discussion. Each was asked about what he or she believed to be the principal's motivation for initiating and supporting enterprise. The responses received were both rich and comprehensive.

Students believed that the former principal had one clear motivation: generating 'publicity'. Leadership was identified as one of his strengths. Student M noted, that "he was a good leader, former army, he was motivated, the need for publicity was in his diet". Similarly, Student N said, "he was a bit focused on self but had a genuine passion for education and was into publicity". Students showed a clear understanding for the rationale of the former principal relating to the publicity focus: "he was providing more opportunities: [the] college needed roll-growth, and a need existed for publicity" (Student O). Student participants, being chairpersons of the Student Council, were in a good position to observe this dynamic of the need for publicity to attract students. The former principal was motivated, and identified with using enterprise as a tool, to attract publicity.

Teachers noted a lack of clarity about the former principal's motivation for EE. No reference was made to the need for student roll-growth. The former principal was seen to pursue self-promotion: "it was all about him and his past life" (Teacher F), and Teacher G noted, "enterprise was a tool he used to generate publicity for himself and his next job". Moreover, Teacher H suggested that enterprise was a tool for "asserting power and influence over long-serving staff members. By promoting the phenomenon, he was implicitly saying: 'you need to get used to the new environment or you can leave'" (Teacher F). Significant variance was evident between the views of teacher and student participants. Teachers were generally opposed to enterprise: no teachers who delivered enterprise within the school thought differently from the SMT (chapter 7). Both the teachers who delivered enterprise and the SMT made an explicit connection between publicity and roll-growth: this shared position suggests an element of wilful blindness and reflected the exercise of power at the case study school.

Parent responses provided clear affirmation of the view expressed by non-enterprise students. A clear pattern of parental acknowledgment existed as to the motivation of the former principal's motivation; parents suggested self-interest alongside a passion for the college and the desire for roll-growth. Parent A said that publicity "was a driver: there was no money to fund marketing so YES was the tool employed". Similarly, another parent talked of the generation of publicity for both principal and school but acknowledged that

they focused on enrolments: “when he was appointed, enrolment levels were not at a good level, but his intentions were honourable” (Parent B). Overall, parents have identified two drivers for the former principal’s motivation: self-promotion and roll-growth.

Clear identification of the principal’s imputed motivations existed. These motivations for supporting enterprise were shared by both students and parents. Teachers identified self-promotion as a sole motivator.

9.5.1. The True Costs of Conducting Enterprise

All participants identified both financial cost and time associated with enterprise as a factor that was not formally acknowledged. Identified costs include refreshments at enterprise product launches, interest-free loans provided by the BoT, paying for travel for entire YES teams to attend the national enterprise awards in Wellington, teacher relief costs, printing expenses and framing of photographs for winning YES teams. Such expenditures are now seen as routine and part of the culture of the college. Suggested costs in terms of losses in learning and teaching time were not acknowledged. Such costs were caused by enterprise activities that impacted on the entire college community.

Students clearly indicated an awareness of the college paying for or subsidising enterprise activities where there was no attempt made to recover costs. However, a clear acceptance existed of subsidisation by students. A comment by Student M is reflective of a shared acceptance. “I don’t mind this subsidy. Pacifica and Maori students get well supported. Rowing and Rugby are also well supported and all get air time as assemblies to showcase their successes and in some cases just participation”. Moreover, students provided an additional perspective or crafted argument for the need for roll-growth. Student N noted, “we all benefit through higher visibility, which provides us [with] a profile when we go into a shop, wait for a bus or visit the public library. We are part of a bigger picture; we are part of a quality brand”. Two students also indicated that enterprise is not the only recipient of school discretionary funding: “I doubt that any more is paid in terms of subsidy than for rowing or rugby” (Student S), and Student O said, “when you reach national level, financial support is provided by the college”. An understanding exists amongst students of why subsidisation occurred.

The understanding of enterprise expressed by students was not shared by teachers, who collectively indicated an awareness of the subsidisation and had issues, but did not feel safe expressing such views. This comment is representative of all teacher feedback:

I think a fair amount of hidden cross subsidisation exists and we talk about it to ourselves but wouldn't risk labelling it at any meeting or with the SMT. If the matter was raised, we would be accused of professional envy and potentially jeopardising school interests and roll-growth (Teacher H).

Further, the majority of teacher participants also referred to the excessive time the SMT devoted to enterprise activities. "The YES teacher appears to have walk-in privileges to the principal's office. The YES teacher and students are often in there planning their activities" (Teacher I). This perspective was also identified in a parent observation (Parent E). Overall, teachers showed an awareness of subsidisation but had no safe way of labelling the issue.

Parents had an awareness of enterprise subsidisation but had no concerns about the practice. Parent B said, "I think it is fair enough the school supports winning students", and Parent E noted, "no question in my mind: the figures or true costs are more than likely concealed". As with other key issues, subsidisation has ceased to be an issue for all parents. The removal of the issue from the table occurred because the elapsing of time, school enterprise success, and the recent inclusion of a small amount of user-pays recovery from enterprise students (Parent D). A cultural practice had developed around funding and the issue was no longer deemed important.

9.6 Decision Making

All participant groups, including parents, teachers and students, have never engaged in any decision making or consultation relating to EE.

At a student council level no discussion or consultation had occurred regarding EE. The agenda was set by the SMT and a member of this team attended all meetings. Student R said, "it was just a matter that was never talked about in a negative or positive manner. It was off the agenda". One student reported that the SMT was quite ruthless on occasion and

would do anything to promote enterprise within and outside the school (Student O). Teachers shared a similar perspective on consultation and decision making. Each teacher expressed a view of not having contributed to any process. Teacher opinion was never sought specifically in terms of losing teaching time for enterprise activities, having students out of class on essential enterprise matters, and losing financial resources to fund EE. Teacher F noted, “we are just told the way things are. It just happened”.

Like the teachers, parents reported no engagement: “we hear and read of enterprise success but have no idea about the process” (Parent C). Both students and teachers indicated acknowledgement of the rules of the game: never to criticise enterprise and always appear supportive. One student reported, “it doesn’t take too long to ascertain the playing field: what teachers and activities to support within the school and who to distance yourself from” (Student T). A similar view was shared by Teacher C: “how could you not support the values of the college as combined into in a shared spirit of enterprise and Blessed Edmund Rice”. Similarly, Teacher J expressed with sadness a concern “about the normal student who came to school and did his best academically but [was] still clearly a loser [because he] generated no media attention for the college”. Reported costs of enterprise, as reflected in participant views, were resources, and no engagement or acknowledgment of other student activities.

Lack of engagement and decision making appeared to be defining characteristics of EE at the case study school. These characteristics were shared across each participant group.

9.7 Winners and Losers

All participants expressed clearly aligned views as to winners, in relation to EE, at the case study school. All participant responses were ranked. The highest ranked responses, of winners, were YES students followed by the school, principals, BoT and YES teacher. A small variance was identified in relation to the role of the YES teacher, who was placed on the lowest continuum by students and second to lowest by teachers who deemed the BoT to be lowest. A shared rationale for placement was expressed by each group. Both parents and teachers were consistent in referring to the small number of student winners as a

proportion of the overall student population. Teacher F noted, “a small and elite group are always winners”.

There was a distinct lack of conformity of view amongst those identifying losers from EE. Losers identified were students who either chose not to participate in YES or who were prevented from doing so, and staff members not supportive of enterprise. No reference was made to any losers outside the college community. Such a position is difficult to reconcile with other participants. All other participant groups had identified the ‘marginalised’ and ‘community engagement’ as key features of EE at the case study school.

Students identified losers as non-enterprise students and some staff members. The shared rationale used to justify this position was these groups choose not to participate or engage with enterprise. Student Q noted, “just like any activity, those who choose not to participate will miss out but I wouldn’t call them losers”. Similarly, Student N noted “losers are those who choose not to engage, as with any school activity”. Another student was quite clear that no losers existed, and cited the participation and success of both Maori teams, and Pacifica and international student teams (Student O).

Students also identified teachers who had not accepted the reality of enterprise at the school as losers. Student M suggested:

If there were some losers onsite it would be teachers who are resistant to enterprise. They need to accept the battle is over, a battle of juristic [sic] proportions has occurred and been won. Older teachers need to reflect and [not] become dinosaurs. Whether good or bad, enterprise has won.

Students also identified a number of low level comments where resistance by teachers to enterprise had occurred: “some staff make adverse comments, sometimes ignore reading out student enterprise notices, or provide a disapproving emphasis” (Student O). Student N suggested that some teachers “proactively critique enterprise teams and products”.

Teachers expressed a different perspective from students. Three clear themes were evident across participants. Teachers perceived themselves as losers along with non-enterprise students at the case study school. Two teachers identified poor school-based processes as having contributed to a sense of loss. Teacher G said “I think a lot of school resource goes into enterprise and students do miss out”. Similarly, Teacher I noted a disadvantage to

“normal hard working teachers at the college who lack the cutting edge of enterprise in their subjects”. A cluster of similar comments drew attention to the silence on the achievements of teachers delivering core subjects. Poor process was named by teachers and as a result, it was suggested that all in the school community had been labelled losers. “I think we all are losers because of bad process. On the theme of process, an observation was made that a total absence of process around enterprise was both intentional and deliberate (Teacher A). Teacher J stated that there was a lack of process and directed school resources; “student participants lived in an inflated and insulated world of their own self-importance at the expense of others”. The themes raised by teachers align with those initially raised by parents, who revised their initial position to accept or embrace EE.

Parent responses were clustered around themes of student non-participation and “teachers who were not acknowledged but were nevertheless good teachers, but who lacked the glamour opportunities afforded by the YES programme” (Parent F). As previously identified, initial parent positions had changed. It was still important to note the basis of initial parental opposition to gauge the scope of the positional change. Parent A said, “all enterprise students are taking away resources from other students. They need to look beyond themselves and see how they are being manipulated by the SMT at the school and the YES teacher”. Later the same parent acknowledged the real “difficulty of naming losers now as a refinement of selection process had occurred” (Parent A). Another parent stayed focused on an analogy of gambling indicating that all students were losers as a result of competition (Parent E). Despite this concern, Parent E acknowledged along with other parents that more recent transparency existed “around the rules of the game for student engagement”. A changing of views had occurred from a position where teacher and non-student participants were both initially identified as losers.

Student did not express any concern for their non-enterprise student peers. A theme of equality of opportunity was repeated by all students. Student M noted that everyone “had an opportunity to participate. They might miss out one year but could engage in the following. I recall there was talk of grooming but I never saw any evidence”. Similarly, Student N confirmed that “opportunities existed for everyone to engage”. On a practical level students acknowledged resource limitation and having a large numbers of YES students was not practical: “limitations in terms of size were required for all teams including sports and cultural groups. We all can’t die and go to heaven” (Student P).

Student R reinforced this view by pointing out that participation in extra-curricular activities was voluntary.

Teacher responses referred to the limited number of students who could participate in enterprise teams. A related theme that emerged was the elite status enjoyed by student participants. These responses were mirrored by those of non-enterprise students. Teacher F said, “a chosen few have amazing protection: they can do what they want like small emperors. Some are pleasant students, but they know how to assert their special status”. Teachers referred to a frequency of word usage intended to assert influence and exercise power: “really”, “but I am an enterprise student”, “I will need to consult or have a conversation with the principal” and “will I be seeing you at our product launch?” These words are all identified by teacher participants as implied threats, especially when voiced in front of a class of students. Teachers focused on their perception of enterprise and responses were predominantly negative.

Student exclusion and limitation of opportunity were themes mentioned by parent participants. Parent A’s response was reflective of the comments made: “in all other activities at the school there is some fairness operative [but] not with YES: they write their own rules”. Over time parents had reflected and moderated their initially negative views on EE. Parent D said, “I was once annoyed with the exclusiveness and elitist nature of enterprise, but I have seen a variety of students engage over the years, and it would be wrong to say participation is not reflective of the college community”. Similarly, Parent E initially saw “a reality of a privileged group of boys operating and protected by their YES teacher, who was in turn protected by the principal, who in turn was protected by the BoT and the values of Edmund Rice”. A positional change occurred: “I now see enterprise as a group of students who work very hard, who are supported by the school, and bring pride and student roll-increases to the school” (Parent E). This moderation of views expressed by parents reflects an exercise of power, which has successfully eliminated all forms of enterprise opposition. Where once clear opposition existed, now views have been moderated.

Enterprise students were clearly identified as winners followed by the school, principals/SMT and YES teacher. A range of losers was identified including non-enterprise participants, the school and non-supportive teachers. All groups referred to an ‘elite’ number of enterprise students, but different views existed about the benefits enjoyed and

provided by this group. Students had a clear understanding of enterprise and showed acceptance of its elite nature and the benefits that it brings to the college. This position was now generally accepted by all parents after initial opposition. Teachers referred to losers being the school and non-enterprise students, but also focused on their own experiences of enterprise which was clearly not positive. No group indicated any losers existing beyond the school gates. Such a position is surprising when earlier definitions of enterprise identified the need to support marginalised students within the case study school.

9.8 Community Engagement and Partnership

A unique feature of the enterprise programme at the case study school was the formation of partnerships with community groups. The effectiveness and sustainability of enterprise relationships were explored with all participants. Students and parents shared the view that the partnerships initiated and developed were both genuine and authentic. A variance existed in teacher responses; a concern existed that partnerships lacked substance and were tokenistic.

An overwhelming positive response to enterprise community partnerships was received from non-enterprise students: “from my perspective, partnerships worked well. I never heard or was aware of any negative concerns” (Student R). Similarly, Student M said that “partnerships between YES teams and the community were well thought out and provided good experiences; including a soccer match with refugee students”. Three students commented on the genuine nature of the partnerships employing words such as “real”, “meaningful” and “legendary”. A pragmatic student offered the view that partnerships “were sustainable but within the constraints of the academic year, and that relationships cannot exist over time as students move on to work and university” (Student Q). Students provided only positive responses of enterprise engagement with the community.

Teacher responses ranged from a ‘lack of knowledge’ of partnerships to those who thought publicity was the overriding characteristic; engagement was not genuine or authentic. Abuse of the community partners was referred to by all teachers. The terms “tokenistic” and “no substance” were used by two participants in describing partnerships. Although the partnerships had generated some quantifiably positive outcomes, they failed to move any teacher. Teacher G said that “various activities arose from relationships ranging from

barbeques, presentation of gifts to sports events which were intended to capture media attention: all were abusive and shallow exercises”. Similarly, Teacher F observed, “it was a shocking experience to watch a group of enterprise students totally manipulate marginalised groups and be encouraged by the SMT”. In contrast, three parents expressed a view that partnerships were both genuine and deserving of affirmation. The view of Parent A reflected this shared position: “from my observations all was fine. You ask yourself what you can expect from young people with limited resources and time and in this context what was achieved in terms of reaching out”. All participants agreed partnership played a significant role in enterprise with all teachers suggesting a lack of authenticity.

Despite differences in perspective relating to partnerships, there was an absolute consistency of view of products deemed of ‘value’, which were made by YES teams. All participants, across groups, provided the same ranking of worthy enterprise products. Rankings were made in terms of what products best aligned with the values of the college. The top three products identified, from all groups, were Salaam biscuits, made with the Muslim community; a Maori story book, which focused on literacy; and child labour and StopCom, which produced a cell-phone tracker that sold domestically and internationally. Out of each participant group, at least three participants identified, without any prompting, Accilink, a YES team which did not reflect college values (Student M and Q). Teacher G said that “the product [a global positioning system] didn’t exist. It was a dream, empty, just like the school seems to [be] becoming”. Words such as “sham”, “dishonest” and “misrepresentative” were employed by participants to describe this team and product. A shared consistency, between groups, exists with respect to worthy YES products.

9.9 Opposition Voices: Model of Power

A clear belief exists, amongst participant groups, that the power of enterprise at the case study school was held and exercised by the principal, SMT, BoT and YES teacher.

In terms of Lukes’ dimension one, no pattern of decision making or conflicting behaviours occurred in the context of EE (Lukes, 2005). There were many observations of unfairness

in terms of school resourcing favouring EE: these involved comments on practice not decision making. Teachers shared a consistent view that a partnership existed between the BoT and SMT who held and asserted power within the school. As indicated in the above data, two teachers added the YES teacher to the power partnership.

In terms of Lukes' dimension two, a consistent theme emerged that the SMT or principal never had to do anything proactive operationally to support enterprise. It was reported that clear knowledge existed of what would happen if the YES teacher and students were obstructed. The power message was known to everyone and was reinforced each time the principal spoke in the media about a specific enterprise success and at staff meetings. A school agenda was set with no discussion or consultation. A change occurred in student YES engagement with the emergence of a more open in terms of student selection process and less overt interventions were necessary to support enterprise.

A clear culture was referred to by participants who opposed YES. This culture aligns with the third dimension of Lukes' model of power (Lukes, 2005). One teacher noted that the SMT and both principals held power but over time a culture had evolved: "a culture of success developed with students' brothers wanting to participate in the next YES team, higher parent interest and increased media engagement" (Teacher K).

A change was observed by participants. Initially the power dynamic was seen by three parents as a negative. Parent A said, "the YES teacher, both principals, and BoT had enormous power and were never challenged. A student like my son couldn't access the programme. They weren't allowed in, they didn't have the right look or weren't smart enough". This power dynamic was reported as dissipating over time (Parent C). Moreover, Parent D noted, "over time once the practice of enterprise became embedded, no need existed for overt intervention by the SMT or YES teacher". It appeared that power was never overtly exercised, and over time had become embedded in the school culture.

9.10 Conclusion

The presence of power is a constant theme in this chapter. Two groups of participants, parents and non-enterprise teachers, were selected on the basis of opposition expressed to EE. Another independent group of student leaders were identified and participated in the research. The student group was in a position to have a good objective overview of EE. Power was reflected in both authority and influence at the school. The exercise or

mobilisation of power resulted in an adoption of EE. Successful mobilisation occurred in spite of opposition being voiced by two participant groups. The YES programme prevailed, acceptance occurred after initial parental opposition. Teacher participants had not changed their initial oppositional view to enterprise, and have not felt safe labelling the issue. Such a position suggests a culture of power and oppression existed at the school. Cultural expression fits well within dimensions two and three of Lukes' model of power (Lukes, 2005). Student voice was predominantly positive in relation to all aspects of enterprise.

Teachers had consistently rejected any compatibility between enterprise and the values of the college; and were critical of college management. Parental views were initially evenly split, before the emergence of a clear and positive consensus for enterprise. Winners are clearly agreed on by all participants, which is consistent with the voice chapters of the SMT, YES Students and Teachers of Enterprise. Losers are deemed by all participants to be non-participating students.

Community engagement and partnership were key features of EE identified by all students. Partnerships were seen to be both genuine and authentic by students and parents. Negative and reasoned responses were provided by teachers.

The passage of time had dissipated initial opposition exhibited by parents to enterprise. A changing of attitudes reflects a mainstream and strong enterprise culture which now exists at the school (DuGay, 2000), which is consistent with the third dimension of power (Lukes, 2005). Acceptance of enterprise appears to have occurred due to: a passage of time; a new inclusion of user-pays principles for students; and greater transparency of student selection.

Despite a clear group of teachers opposing enterprise, as practiced at the college, there exists no opportunity for non-enterprise views to be heard. Further, there are no opportunities to engage in consultation or participate in collective decision making and reflection. This group felt marginalised within the college community.

Similarities exist between all groups in a shared capacity to define EE. Baseline definitions of profit were identified, but there was a considerable variance beyond this point. It is interesting to note that students and parents were the only groups to include community engagement and social justice dimensions within their definitions. Teachers clearly

focused on the negative aspects of profit making. A similarity of views existed regarding enterprise products being aligned with the values of the school.

The values of the school are defined by the Catholic Church as the rationale for its existence. An examination of the public voice of the Church and listening to other internal voices of influence provides a further insight into EE.

Chapter 10

New Zealand Catholic Church Voices of Enterprise Education

10.1 Introduction

A constant difficulty exists with aligning Catholic values with the governance and management of a school operating in a competitive environment. Schools seek guidance and support from the Catholic Church.

Difference of Public Voice

Within the Church, there is disunity on the subject of EE. Three different voices exist:

1. The public voice of the New Zealand's Bishops Secretariat (combines all New Zealand Bishops) is provided by a sole Bishop who is authorised to speak on its behalf.
2. The public voice of school proprietors (Christian Brothers) is provided by one of its Oceanic Provincial Leaders who is a member of the school BoT.
3. The public voice of the NZCEO is provided by its CEO. This office provides leadership, advocacy and support for all New Zealand Catholic primary and secondary schools.

A difference of voice is reflected in refusals to respond to certain questions or provide information. All three constituents hold positions of moral or financial power over the case study school. The school provides a good Catholic education to students: "the Principal emphasises human relationships and his clear communication are a foundation of the school culture" (Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 2006, p. 5). Despite praise for the school, the issue of EE divides the Church. One Catholic voice is celebratory of enterprise; another voice has concerns referring to the new phenomenon as a Trojan horse for business interests. The final voice is caught in an enterprise limbo, celebrating its positive aspects but remaining silent on those disadvantaged by its application.

10.2 Definition of EE

A difference between constituents within the Catholic Church is apparent when seeking a definition for EE (Dwerryhouse, 2001; Hytti & O’Gorman, 2004; Renwick & Gray, 2001). One voice has suggested an inherent ambiguity and opposition to the term ‘entrepreneurial’. It has been used to indicate a relationship between schools and the business designed to prepare young people for business: “I believe the term is being used surreptitiously to denote something the term doesn’t mean” (Catholic Voice One). A public debate occurred around submissions on the proposed curriculum in 2010 with only one Catholic voice having the authority to publicly comment and participate. The term enterprise was not seen as having any specific connotation regarding business, but objection existed to the term ‘entrepreneurial’. This was the public position of New Zealand bishops and the Church. The “term enterprise is more neutral than the word entrepreneurial which we deal with in this submission” (New Zealand Bishops Statement, 2006, p. 2).

However, once the MoE finalised the curriculum document, the mood changed when the terms ‘enterprise’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ were both adopted. The analogy of a Trojan horse was employed: “that word ‘entrepreneurial’ is employed by people with a marketplace interest. It is intended to bring their agenda into the field of education under an innocent looking word” (Catholic Voice One). In terms of the public voice of the Church, no ambiguity exists. There is absolute opposition to entrepreneurial values and practices being taught in school.

There was a difference in interpretation by other non-public Catholic Church voices. EE and entrepreneurial values are about “gaining knowledge, communication, marketing, financial management and other prerequisites of entrepreneurship and life” (Catholic Voice Two). There is no question that this voice is part of a combined prevailing Catholic voice for the promotion of EE: “the skills involved are valuable and deserve to be taught. EE is both a proven and interesting way of doing that” (Catholic Voice Three). A clear difference emerges between what is said publicly and what is done in practice, as very different voices are heard from within the Church.

10.3 Values

The two dominant, yet non-public, voices within the Church have no doubts that the values of EE are consistent with those of the Catholic Church. The marginalised public voice within the Church withdrew from participation in a dialogue around values, stating a lack of familiarity with enterprise values in place at the case study school. However, no restraint was shown by the other voices. Enterprise “allows its values to be taught as well as demonstrated to challenge adolescents to modify any negative views of business” (Catholic Voice Two). A more explicit incident underlines the support or culture within the school. The context was a standard staff briefing in which the principal had heard negative comments from a few staff members relating to disruption to the timetable caused by an enterprise event. The principal stated that enterprise values are part of the special character of the school, as approved by the Christian Brothers, and that any staff member who has a difficulty with this needs to consider why they are working at the school (Field Note: 23/06/07). The linkage between Edmund Rice and enterprise was employed to justify actions. It would appear values provide a mask to the power that promotes EE at the school: “a genuine empathy with the Edmund Rice values of compassion, service and social justice is a strength that permeates the whole culture of the enterprise school” (Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 2006, p. 5). Such a view is not totally accepted by all voices within the Church. Conflict does exist and therefore it is not possible to assume there is a consensus on the prevailing allocation of values.

10.4 Senior Management

There is a clear acknowledgment and support by the majority of Catholic voices who have proximate contact with the case study school that enterprise is a good direction. Specific staff members were identified as leading this change. Within the college, the YES teacher, two principals and the BoT are labelled as the initiators and drivers of the new culture. “The YES teacher’s ability to inspire students, to use the media and to entice political and entrepreneurial leadership to was simply sensational” (Catholic Voice Two). This comment is mirrored by another Catholic voice. “The YES teacher was the dreamer, the two principals were strong supporters; the BoT are active encouragers” (Catholic Voice Three). New management approaches and philosophies are also attributed to a change in culture, including celebration and rituals associated with YES successes. External

confirmation is provided of the successful EE approach (Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 2006).

10.5 Marketing

The success of EE is cause for celebration at the case study school. A strong media profile generated around the YES programme has generated pride among other integrated and state schools. The NZCEO had been responsible for consistently promoting, supporting and celebrating YES success: “it has ... dramatically lifted the national and public profile of the college in a positive way and Catholic education nationally” (Catholic Voice Three). This attention had become addictive. Each success the school achieves is widely promoted in both publications of the NZCEO (*Lighting New Fires*, March 2006-2011) and showcased at the NZCEO Conference (Field Note: 07/08/2009). The attention and media profile has now become a key justification to retain and expand the school’s model of EE.

10.6 Winners and Losers

EE is synonymous with winning and is both clear and explicit from the language and words employed. The only reference to losers is a sole voice within the Church. It is claimed losers will exist if EE is not pursued: “we cannot be inhibited from developing skills of critiquing society: then we are all the losers, both business and society are the losers” (Catholic Voice One). The two dominant voices speak solely of winners being primarily students and the college. No losers are identified. “The Catholic education system in having one of its number seen as a national leader is massive: a practical response to Christian social teaching” (Catholic Voice Two). The dominant Catholic voices share a commonality, identifying no losers from EE, just winners.

10.6.1. Influence of Business

The influence of business is seen both as a potential danger and a liberator for schools by constituent voices within the Church. A concern raised relates to dependency and a loss of critical thinking. This position is against an alternative view that students will be liberated through innovation and creativity through business involvement. The independence of Catholic schools is valued. One participant warned of a “dependency by schools on

businesses occurring which will inhibit the schools from doing their core-business, which is developing children to have critical skills, the ability to sit and critique what is going on around them, and work for change” (Catholic Voice One). A secondary argument raised is the state seeking avoidance of core responsibilities by promoting a financial dependency by schools on business (Catholic Voice One; Thrupp et al., 2007). This position differs from that shared by the dominant non-public voices within the Church who favour strong business engagement (Catholic Voice Two and Three).

Despite differences within the Church, there is agreement that enterprise values have now become mainstream. The battle over EE within schools has been won and the results are either liberation and freedom or dependency.

10.7 Catholic Church: Model of Power

The first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power has at its focus “actual and observable behaviour” (Dahl, 1958). Power can be analysed within this dimension only after a “careful consideration of a series of concrete decisions” with the focus on behaviour where there is observable public conflict or presence of grievance. The voice for the Church comprises three constituent parts: New Zealand’s Bishops Secretariat, the Christian Brothers and the voice of the NZCEO. All three constituents hold positions of moral or financial power over the case study school. Overt decision making, which falls within the scope of the first dimension of power, can be reflected in a conflict over wording in the new curriculum. The interests of enterprise prevailed within Catholic schools despite opposition from the public voice of the Church.

An example exists of what initially appeared as a first dimension categorisation of power that devolves into the second dimension. An incident occurred at the case study school involving a local priest who criticised the YES programme (see Section 9.4). The priest was not seen at the school again. In sum, there was a removal of the issue from the agenda. This incident reflects the power of a new enterprise culture at the college as against the local Church.

As with all other voices, there is confusion and absence of leadership around clear definitions of enterprise. However, all sides have very different but clear and distinct

views. As a result, there is a stalemate of non-decision making in terms of the Church taking leadership on the issue of EE within its schools. Due to the strength of these conflicting voices, one public and two non-public voices, the Catholic Church has never sought a structured opportunity to discuss the issues of enterprise, its role and purpose, or attempted to reconcile the different voices.

In terms of hierarchical power structures within the Catholic Church, its public voice, the Catholic Bishops Secretariat, has the power to create an opportunity for discussion around EE (Freire, 1981). A power exists to show leadership, influence practice and to reconcile. However, the public voice chooses not to engage with this issue. A possible reason may evolve around examining power as domination: “everyone’s interests are multiple, conflicting and of different kinds” (Lukes, 2005, p. 10). All voices within the Church, including the public voice, receive a benefit from EE: “I have to say reluctantly what is good for Catholic education is also good for us” (Catholic Voice One). This may explain why there is reluctance by the public voice of the Catholic Church to put the issue of enterprise on the agenda on “account of the fact power may be, and often is exercised by confining the scope of decision-making to relatively safe issues” (Lukes, 2005, p. 6). Further, such a position would be consistent with a public opposition to enterprise coexisting with a private inaction or indifference. An “analysis exclusively on the public transcript is unlikely to conclude that subordinate groups endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic partners in their subordination” (Scott, 1990, p. 4). Thus, a second-dimensional insight into power reflects non-decision making, non-agenda setting and a mobilisation of bias in place within the Catholic Church. As a result of the second dimension of power, enterprise continues to flourish at the case study school.

The third dimension of power examines a possible manipulation of the consensus via the application of power. A set of predominant values exist including beliefs, rituals and instructional procedures, ‘rules of the game’, that embrace EE at the school. The two dominant voices within the Church who benefit from enterprise will naturally seek to “defend and promote their vested interests” (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 21). Two voices within the Church, perhaps even the third, appear willing to create a false consciousness to further the promotion of the school and Church. Both these voices are very familiar with the operation of enterprise at the school and YES programme. It may well be the sole voice

in the Catholic Church, who is supported by Church leaders, is publicly representing the real interest of the Church. The position of the shared and dominant voices may well be expressing a position of false consciousness: the difference being the operation of Lukes' (2005) third and most insidious dimension of power (Graetz & Shapiro, 2005).

There is a clear difference in terms of what is said publicly in official documents and what occurs in practice (Scott, 1990). The "term entrepreneurial is not neutral but dangerous" (New Zealand Bishops Statement, 2006, p. 2) compared to the encouragement of "entrepreneurial practice within Catholic schools that provides skills of value which deserve to be taught" (Catholic Voice Three). This difference is consistent with Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power. The school provides an example of entrepreneurship in practice.

Both Church and school are seeking engagement and relevance within their communities. Marketing and media exposure have led to positive impressions of the college, Catholic education and Church. All three groups have acknowledged and marketed this success in respective publications. A new culture exists where enterprise has become mainstream, supported by rituals, procedures and a special-school character. This is consistent with the third dimension of Lukes' (2005) model of power.

10.8 Conclusion

The Catholic Church is fighting for survival in contemporary society. A competitive environment also exists between both Catholic integrated and secular schools. This competitive difference is accentuated by the prevailing neo-liberal environment. Just like EE, it is engaged in a battle for relevancy. The dominant voices within the Church are pleased to have the school aligned with EE. They see this form of education as being relevant, progressive, a point of difference and practised at the case study school, and a cause for celebration. A culture has developed embracing media publicity. Voices of the Church express a range of definitions for EE. The specific model of EE practised at the school is consistent with the values of the Catholic Church, according to its dominant voices. This is the view of those voices who directly engage with the school. There is a difference in what happens in practice and what is stated publicly by the Church in official documents. EE is seen as an all win situation by the two dominant voices within the

Church. However, there exists a sole and public voice of the Church that identifies a loss of the real interests of students, including loss of independence and critical thinking as a direct result of EE. However, all voices involve multiple and conflicting interests, as is the case with the public voice of the Church.

YES mentors, discussed in the next chapter, provide both an objective and short-term account of their experience with EE. Their voice mirrors themes that emerged from the voice of students, teachers and the SMT. Although providing an outside perspective, many of the mentors are former students of the college. There is reconciliation between mentoring young students, transferring business knowledge and impressions of the management and the school and its Catholic values.

Naturally reoccurring themes are captured by Lukes' (2005) model of power, including the protection of the special status of YES and attacking any group that is seen to be a threat. There also exists a public voice of mentors that can vary from practice. An insightful link is provided between the adult relationships between the SMT, who both want the best outcomes for YES students, but seek different pathways.

Chapter 11

YES Mentor Voices of Enterprise Education

11.1 Introduction

Unlike the Catholic Church, business mentors who support the YES programme at the college are short-term visitors to the school. Mentors are integral to the YES. They provide business advice and support for students. Half of the YES mentors are former students of the college, with the balance being approached by students on the suggestion of the SMT. A natural predisposition exists towards the value of business and winning. Mentor insight into the power and culture of enterprise at the case study school, and the identification of winners and/or losers assists in the construction of a rich picture of the YES programme and social enterprise model.

11.2 Definition of EE

Providing a consistent definition of EE proved difficult for business mentors. Responses ranged from enterprise as being “the real world” to inclusion of words such as “money” and “profit” as parts of a definition (Dwerryhouse, 2001; Hytti & O’Gorman, 2004). Enterprise is “product and process creation for profit” (Mentor C). There is an acknowledgement on the definition “you see it when you see it” (Mentor B). These responses match those of other stakeholders who struggled to provide a consistent definition.

Mentors provided a clear consistency around the skills and experiences gained by students. This aligns with the second part of a fused definition of enterprise (see Chapter 1). These “include presentation and communication skills, the ability to communicate the vision of the group to often sceptical third parties” (Mentor A). Also referred to is “independent critical thinking, learning” (Mentor E). This position contrasts to a Catholic Church voice (see Chapter 9). Identified skills and opportunities are also expressed by other stakeholder voices.

As a result of skills and experience gained through enterprise, the majority of mentors

believe enterprise should be a core subject in New Zealand secondary schools (Watt, 2002). However, one mentor expressed doubts if enterprise could be taught on such a basis. “I doubt there are committed teachers with the necessary skills to teach the subject” (Mentor A). Despite this sole voice, a collective mentor belief exists that YES should continue on the basis of limited entry to ensure its exclusive and special-status. There was a desire to see generalised enterprise programmes made compulsory: “do you allow small children to choose whether they want to brush their teeth or not? You teach students enterprise skills before they know that they need them” (Mentor C). Overall, there is no dissenting voice; a collective view exists that enterprise needs to be compulsory but not the YES programme, which needs to keep its special-status within the college community.

11.2.1. The Journey and Impressions

All mentors had positive initial impressions of the staff and students at the case study school. Students were “poised, confident, socially committed, and enthusiastic” (Mentor C). Another noted, “I found the YES teacher very positive. I wasn’t so encouraged by the former principal. The students were green” (Mentor B). The school was proactive in welcoming all mentors into the college community. Engagement included inviting mentors to special occasions including assemblies, special morning teas, junior and senior prize-giving, and having senior management regularly thank them for their ongoing support in school newsletters (Field Notes: 03/05/2005; 04/06/2007; 12/09/2009). The goal was to make mentors feel part of a wider school family.

A mentor reflected on school engagement a number of years after his team achieved national success. “My overriding observation was the school was streets ahead in terms of engaging with the community” (Mentor B, personal communication, 22 August 2008). According to three mentors, a lack of clarity existed about aspects of the role, but along with other mentors, a clear cultural expectation was in place to win awards: “It seemed to me it was important to give these guys as much exposure as possible, but similarly try to win because the school got kudos out of that” (Mentor B). Positive experiences are noted, but a lack of clarity existed around process or criteria apart from winning. Mentors provided support, business advice and networking opportunities for students to win awards. Mentors, like students, could operate with relative freedom at the school.

11.3 Values

Insight was sought on moral or ethical concerns experienced during the mentor journey. No mentor identified any concerns. However, several mentors mentioned that socially responsive products made it a great deal easier to commit to the YES programme. This was an indicative mentor response: “the product benefiting a group within the community who were at risk – it was easier to commit” (Mentor E). Mentor restraint was also identified as a theme across several years: “there was the ongoing personal temptation to take over when I saw inefficiency in the student’s efforts, but I converted that to teaching opportunities” (Mentor C). Another mentor thought about possible ethical issues from the perspective of the case study school: “I sometimes wondered what the view of the school was. I never directly came across people who said this is the wrong thing for this type of school. And that is why I think I got the most out of it because I was perhaps quite surprised that a Catholic school would promote something that is so capitalist” (Mentor B). A lack of awareness of boundaries, and no parameters or specific agendas were part of the environment mentors faced. YES mentors had unlimited licence to come at any time and roam the school corridors (Field Notes: 14/06/2005; 23/07/2008). Apart from reflective musing relating to unique aspects of the programme and relationships with students, no moral or ethical dilemmas were expressed by mentors.

11.4 Senior Management

Mentors held a collective view that power at the college in terms of EE is held by the YES teacher and SMT. All attribute these people as responsible for a change of culture within the school. Students have also been identified as having supported this change in culture: “enterprise is lifting their sights to be part of a new culture” (Mentor D). A difference of views exists in relation to the former principal. Two mentors expressed negative views: “he wasn’t a supportive principal. In my experience the former principal was fine to let it go on, but deep down it offended his sensibility” (Mentor B). Further, “the impression I got from the former principal was he was happy for it to be there, and happy for the success to be rubbing off on him and the school. If it didn’t, he wasn’t going to step out on a limb” (Mentor C). A more favourable perspective is provided by another mentor who stressed the former principal’s “model or style of management ... which provided considerable freedom” (Mentor A).

An obvious mentor difference exists in the role played by the former principal. However, all mentors are clear that a culture of success exists and its power radiates out to the college community and beyond: “success breeds success. Every other school in the city is looking at the school and wondering what are they going to do next” (Mentor B). This comment reflects the existence of a competitive environment between schools in the city. From the perspective of mentors, power is clearly seen as residing with the teacher, SMT and within a new school culture. There is also acknowledgment that students do have a role in the equation of power.

11.4.1. Barriers

Teacher opposition and a critical voice of non-enterprise students are identified as possible barriers to EE. Peer pressure was named by two mentors as potentially significant: “if the other boys in the school weren’t enthusiastic and supportive of enterprise there would be a problem; jealous students can hurt the tall poppies” (Mentor E). In addition to the possibility of peer resentment, teachers were identified as a major barrier that was, or could be, critical of enterprise: “poor-performing teachers would be the most critical. All you need is a bad egg then all the eggs turn bad. We see that so much in business. Schools don’t have too many levers on performance issues” (Mentor B). One mentor was more specific: “I can name a number of teachers within the school who are opposed to the teaching of EE. In the main these tend to be older staff members who are set in their ways” (Mentor A). There was an acknowledgment of teachers’ behaviour and potentially student peer pressure as obstacles to EE.

11.4.2. Shared Criticism of the Regional Facilitators

Agreement exists about the poor performance of regional YES facilitation. The skills and competence of facilitators were continually questioned. Mentors have no negative experiences of the national facilitators of EE (YET). Regional facilitation had generated concerns about fairness and transparency. All mentors referred to hidden agendas that disadvantaged their respective YES teams: “they don’t connect enough with business” (Mentor D). “I was disappointed: poor judges and no event-management skills” (Mentor B). In contrast all mentors acknowledged that national facilitation was excellent. However,

criticism is shared among all other stakeholders as to the challenge provided by the YES regional facilitators who are consistently identified as obstacles to engagement with the programme.

11.5 Winners and Losers

All mentors identified a range of categories for winners deriving from the YES programme. This comment is indicative of all mentors: “students, college, YES teacher and the YES programme all win” (Mentor C). A strong perception exists that along with the school being a winner, so are non-YES students who dream of participation (Mentor B). Thus, non-enterprise students who are provided with hope or inspiration can also be winners along with the school.

A theme is evident from three mentors that there may be occasions where the college had used YES students to promote itself within the community. A more generous interpretation is provided by one mentor, who states that the programme is “driven by teachers who have wider experience, social conscience and understand the challenges facing Christians in a commercial world” (Mentor C). However, despite positive affirmation, doubts are also expressed: “hopefully the purpose is to develop better students but the school was ruthless in terms of marketing and promotion – I have never seen such a process” (Mentor B). This comment was reflective of two other mentors (Mentors A and D).

No losers are identified and no acknowledgement exists of barriers to YES engagement. A number of members have suggested the school has used YES students to promote itself. Overall, mentors agree that only winners exist.

11.5.1. Business Interests

Business interests were not identified as explicit winners from the operation of enterprise within the school. Indeed mentors have a collective view that business has too little influence within schools: “I don’t think business is heavily enough involved in enterprise” (Mentor E). In response to the suggestion that low-decile schools might not be an attractive proposition, there was no hesitation in noting this would not be the case. All schools would

be supported. As one mentor noted, “I think what would happen is more people [businesses] would pick the low-decile schools to help them” (Mentor E). Overall, there was a positive mentor response to the existing role of business within EE. Indeed, there is a shared call for more business engagement.

11.6 YES Mentors: Model of Power

Actual conflict is never identified by mentors; merely a capacity for conflict is mentioned. A possibility of conflict was raised in relation to student peer-pressure. In terms of the first dimension of power, no examples are provided. Teachers were identified as potential sources of conflict. Despite this perception of teachers, no behaviour was identified to justify this view. In terms of mentor responses, the first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model is of limited assistance.

The second dimension provides more assistance and confirms a lack of decision making over a definition of enterprise. A scattered range of themes are provided by mentors including “money” and “profit” forming part of individual definitions. Mentors also reveal a lack of agenda or leadership by the former principal, just a goal of winning (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). The practice of detachment by the former principal was to generate strong enterprise growth. This approach suggests power was operative as the principal had a culture in place “where others anticipate [his] expected reaction ... thereby aiming to forestall overt coercion” (Lukes, 2005, p. 78).

The third dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power assists in the face of what appears to be universal acquiescence. It is difficult to ‘determine empirically’ whether the consensus is genuine or instead has been enforced through non-decision making’. The responses and insights provided by mentors suggest a culture exists within the school to ensure domination of enterprise values through effective compliance. An attitude exists of a favourable alignment of social relations and forces facilitating positive enterprise outcomes. The successful impact on interests is “measured not just by reference to express preferences but also to grievances that have not reached expression in the political arena” (Lukes, 2005, p. 111). Mentors reveal the effectiveness of power at the case study school.

In order for power as domination to be operative, compliance is required from stakeholders

within and outside the college community. Like other stakeholders, mentors provided an affirmation of the integral role of the media in securing compliance. All mentors acknowledged that an enterprise culture, supported by positive media, provided the college with a competitive advantage.

All mentors expressed concerns about YES regional facilitation. These concerns are generated from a group of privileged mentors who sought to secure the elite status and success of their own YES teams. The regional facilitators were a challenge to the predominant values or the established 'rules of the game' (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). No consideration was provided to the participation of other schools. Another view shared by mentors were no losers existed as a result of YES. A social enterprise model made it a great deal easier for the majority of mentors to engage with the school. No conflict of values existed. Among the positive pictures of enterprise at the case study school, a possibility is implied of a potentially false or manipulated consensus.

Power as identified in the three dimensions provided by Lukes' (2005) model can readily be applied to the case study school. Mentors provide a rich insight into an overall picture. The picture shows enterprise as being mainstream at the school: "do you allow small children to choose whether they want to brush their teeth or not?" (Mentor C).

11.7 Conclusion

Mentors provide a unique insight into EE. Their reflections on the school, students, SMT and the YES programme are of value. Mentor views are predominantly positive and represent a striking similarity, which suggests a regular transference of power supported by institutional structures and practice.

No clear and consistent definition of EE exists among mentor voices, but there is a cluster of themes expressed, mostly skill-based and aligned to business culture. It is clear that a culture of enterprise is present at the college. Senior management and the YES teacher are identified as responsible. Once again, marketing is identified as a key part of this culture.

From the perspective of mentors, an acceptance of the culture of enterprise at the school exists. The values of enterprise appear aligned with Church values. No losers are identified

from the enterprise journey, only winners, although some voices have identified the potential for manipulation of students for marketing purposes.

Mentors noted differences in the approach of national and regional facilitators of YES. Along with students and the SMT, mentors have identified negative experiences with respect to regional YES facilitation. In contrast, the national facilitator was considered to have provided positive outcomes and success. Both facilitators have long-term relationships with the case study school and their feedback and perspectives further enrich this story of enterprise.

These perspectives fed into Lukes' (2005) model of power. The feedback provided from the regional facilitator is fairly material because they have a proximate link with the school, whereas there is a distance from the national facilitators. What is said and not said by both facilitators, along with what is said and what is actually done, proves revealing. Both facilitators through their responses or lack of response provide expression to all three dimensions of Lukes' (2005) model of power.

Chapter 12

Regional and National Facilitator Voices of EE

12.1 Introduction

The public voice of both regional and national facilitators of YES was captured by this research. Nationally, facilitation is provided by the YET. Regionally, YES is facilitated by Core Education (formerly the CDC). The case study school maintains a close relationship with both organisations. Facilitators provide professional development for YES teachers, facilitate events, assessment, and moderation. The national facilitator has an influence over regional facilitators through an annual financial subsidy, judging, and hosting the national awards dinner. Both facilitators require different forms of compliance from individual YES teams.

12.2 Definition of EE

Both facilitators provide a similar definition of EE (Dwerryhouse, 2001; Hytti & O’Gorman, 2004). Similar core definitions are provided with references to enterprising skills. At a regional level, skills identified include a taking of responsibility, being innovative, and taking some risks (Regional Facilitator). At a national level, reference is made to thinking outside the square, being proactive and having a can do attitude (National Facilitator). This is consistent with the organisation’s annual report: “Young Enterprisers add value to school-based knowledge, develop a ‘can do’ attitude and learn to take and manage risks” (ENZT, 2006, p. 9). Both regional and national definitions, which include note of skills and experience, align with the values of neo-liberalism. Enterprise programmes, including YES, can attribute their origins to the competitive environment in which schools now operate.

12.3 Values

The value and influence of Edmund Rice at the case study school is acknowledged by both facilitators. At a national level, it is noted “he was an Irish businessman who believed that business was important as it provided the resources by which to spread the message of the

church”. A shorter response was provided at a regional level: “he promoted a positive attitude amongst the students”. Further, “the college has developed a specific brand of EE that fits in with its special character and attained a virtually unassailable position within the school, and is a very difficult target for critics to attack” (National Facilitator). The regional coordinator suggested these values have worked to protect the school. “They are very fortunate no one would challenge them due to the ethical and moral high ground the college enjoys” (Regional Facilitator). There exists an inference that what is publicly presented by school YES teams does not always match reality. Clearly, both facilitators acknowledge the Edmund Rice role model, which provides a protective shield of values around EE within the college.

12.4 Senior Management

The case study school journey of enterprise started in 2004. The college YES team, StopCom, became the Lion Foundation YES Company of the Year. This key moment is identified by both facilitators. The win began the shaping of a new enterprise culture at the school: “my impression of the school was a very ordinary, middle of the road, Catholic boys’ school” (National Programme Manager YES). As a result of the national win, the school “embraced EE and had huge success with it, and this has made it ‘famous’. The school now stands out in the crowd” (National Facilitator). All enterprise references to the case study school are provided in the context of this key event. This event was to define the future of the college.

There is a shared identification from both regional and national facilitators of the people responsible for the initiation and sustainability of the YES at the case study school. These included the SMT and the YES teacher at the school. The national facilitator noted that the teacher “quickly recognised the synergy between the two activities of marketing. It was a marriage made in heaven. The school is now recognised in the very highest echelons of government and community” (National Facilitator). The regional facilitator notes the key was “the input and time of the teacher in leading YES and the support of the SMT”. Apart from comments identifying those who initiated and supported enterprise, no examples of concrete decision making are provided. The evidence provided identifies those within the college community who have benefited and those externally, including both facilitators. Naturally, identified stakeholders will defend and promote their vested interests.

12.5 Marketing

A defence of vested interests and enterprise values appears simpler because of excellent media coverage and effective marketing. Both facilitators acknowledge that through a good media profile, the school has become a powerful and influential voice in EE. The college is seen and promoted as a role model. Regionally, “it needs to be acknowledged in terms of results there are no rivals to the case study school” (Regional Facilitator). A positive externality of college success in YES has generated a good profile for both facilitators.

12.6 Power of Enterprise Education Nationally

Beyond the school, the power and emergence of EE can be evidenced at a number of levels. Greater numbers of students are being influenced by EE each year at the case study school and nationally. The intention and vision of the national facilitator is clear: “to promote, and co-ordinate, programmes concerning entrepreneurship in New Zealand” (YET, 2008, p. 3). This vision is different from an earlier recorded vision “to ensure that increasing numbers of students participate in quality enterprise and financial literacy education” (ENZT, 2006, p. 5). The vision has expanded. One identified tool in the battle to promote EE was the new national curriculum: “our vision is now realised for all young people to be creative, energetic and enterprising” (YET, 2008, p. 3). The curriculum changes have ensured that enterprise and entrepreneurship are now mainstream values.

12.6.1. Business Influence

A shared positive picture is portrayed of the role of business engagement with EE. This shared position is not unexpected. From a regional perspective, business influence is seen as “a relationship of two way mutual exchanges” (Regional Facilitator). The National Manager of YES notes the influence as positive and justifies it in the context of the engagement with the wider community: “we see an increasing number of YES companies with ‘not for profit’ goals working together” (National Manager YES Programme). However, there is no discounting or moderating the scope and nature of business involvement in the YET. A clear intent exists as stated by its public voice:

Business has influence over EE and this is good:

- If business interests had not engaged with us more than 28 years ago through the development of what is now the YET EE as we know it today would not exist.
- Sports people have their programmes organised and run by achieving coaches and sports people. Learning from the horses' mouths is far more effective than learning from academics—hence the necessity to have business people involved.
- Government servants are not entrepreneurs, are rarely enterprising and usually have no first-hand knowledge of running a business so they are ill-prepared to make decisions about EE.
- Teachers are largely antibusiness so there is very little prospect of practical business skills being taught in schools without business having pushed the agenda for the last 28 years.
- School principals generally do not adopt business models to run their schools so there is little business friendly role-modelling going on in the ordinary school environment.
- It is business that creates the wealth of New Zealand and young people need to know how to be part of this. The EE programmes supported by business ensure this sort of education is available.
- Only 7% of the YET funding comes from the government—if corporate New Zealand and philanthropic trusts were not willing to support EE it would not exist. (National Facilitator)

In sum, facilitators receive uncompromising support and influence from business in pursuing a national EE agenda. However, an agenda denotes an open and transparent process. In terms of EE, specifically at the case study school, this is not always the case.

12.6.2. Winners and Losers

In terms of identification of YES winners, there is a difference of perceptions between facilitators. The regional facilitator provided a narrow response regarding who he considers the winners are at the case study school: “I would hope, and it ordinarily should be, the

students, however the school has engineered and received disproportionately good media coverage” (Regional Facilitator). The inference is that the school may be a winner at the expense of students. From a national perspective, a wider identification of winners was provided. It was suggested in descending order that the winners are the BoT, the SMT, the YES teacher, mentor/business people involved and the wider community;

Everyone in the school benefits from it:

- a. The teachers do as the raised profile of the school will be a very important marketing tool and this keeps the roll up so all staff jobs are protected.
- b. The students do because it makes their education more exciting and equips them for life beyond school.
- c. The board and parent community do as the raised profile of the school reflects well on them. (National Facilitator)

The difference between perceptions is small, with the regional facilitator suggesting YES winners should be solely students with a broader position being adopted nationally. It is noteworthy that the multiple interests of teachers are referred to when enterprise is equated to staff jobs. What is clear is a shared non-acknowledgment of those within the school community who are not engaged with the YES programme. Non-participants in YES appear ignored, to have no value, and are not on any agenda. A shared silence exists.

12.6.3. Barriers to EE

The case study school did struggle to develop an enterprise culture and obtain national recognition. This struggle is referred to by both facilitators. Identified barriers include teachers within the case study school: “not all the staff of the college accepted the enterprise approach reality; indeed a number of them fought against having any involvement with it, and largely refused to change their own teaching” (National Facilitator). As time elapsed, this opposition was progressively weakened. The mechanism to achieving this was identified as the two case study school principals. Without this high-level endorsement, it is doubtful that this fundamental change could not have occurred at the case study school.

Teacher opposition manifested itself in a number of ways. These included a school professional development session organised by the national enterprise facilitators:

I had forgotten how poisonous negative staff members could be, and there were a couple of teachers employed at school at the time who refused to engage or be enthused about the enterprise approach. Unfortunately they were subject area gatekeepers, and I expect that their negatively hindered the school's global rate of change. (National Facilitator)

This view is also shared, but not so explicitly, by the regional coordinator: "often it is teachers who think of enterprise as purely business and are negative" (Regional Facilitator). The rationale for this opposition is provided by the national facilitator. Opposition is always from teachers:

... who do not want to change their traditional ways of teaching, are too old or jaded to be passionate about the educational advantages of EE, or do not believe that the primary purpose of education is to get young people fit for the real-world beyond the school gate. Those teachers who are passionate about another aspect of schooling (sport) believe that EE is stealing the limelight. (National Facilitator)

Both facilitators refer to teachers as barriers, yet no concrete behaviours are identified. However, as stated by both facilitators, teacher opposition exists at the case study school. The identified barrier of teacher resistance has largely been silenced at the case study school. According to both facilitators, the silence or reduction in teacher opposition has occurred due to the passage of time and continual successes achieved by YES teams.

Some opposition was being identified beyond the college. This external opposition has focused on the YES teacher and college. The National Facilitator related that the YES teacher's efforts:

... were not always welcome by the wider education community, and despite all schools purporting to act collegially, there is actually huge competition between them, and the school had not poked its nose above the horizon line until it began to build a name for itself in EE. (National Facilitator)

Often, YET provides the school with additional media opportunities to showcase its unique enterprise model (Field Notes: 12/05/2008; 04/08/2009). The college was truly fortunate to

have such a powerful and strong advocate as the national facilitator of YES. It is a relationship that has endured for the past seven years.

The level of support and praise provided by the national facilitator for the college is not entirely shared by the regional facilitator. A regional perspective existed that all competitors in the YES programme should be treated on an equal basis in a fair and transparent manner: “our expectations of the school are the same as all the other YES schools” (Regional Facilitator). The regional facilitator was mindful of the school’s success but always restated the rules and processes to students and always adopted impartiality: “the school may have seen this as a barrier but we have to stick to the same rules for everyone” (Regional Facilitator). When asked to comment on the negative aspects of YES engagement with the case study school, there was a refusal to comment: “I will not comment on this”. There exists a clear difference between facilitators as to treatment of the case study school.

YES facilitators expressed a positive and favourable response in identifying no losers from the YES programme. Obstacles caused by teacher opposition were expressed by both facilitators. Opposition directed towards the YES teacher and college was acknowledged from a national perspective. However, the overall response was that enterprise generates only winners.

12.7 Facilitators’ Voice: Model of Power

The Lukes’ model (2005) views power as domination. Next, a question exists of how is domination secured? How is compliance achieved over those dominated? Both facilitators provided insight in the quest for answers. Enterprise initiation and development at the case study school can be attributed to both principals and the YES teacher. The facilitators both noted teacher conflict within the school: but this was not observable. A highlighted source of conflict was teachers who “don’t accept the enterprise approach reality” (National Facilitator). No overt decision making consistent with the first dimension of power was identified by either facilitator.

The second dimension of power is relevant to decision making. No specific decision or formalised pathway can be identified which led to the school pursuit of enterprise. An

event is identified when a YES team won in 2004. Those initiating and supporting enterprise within the school community are identified, but no clear decision making was identified. What is clear is a shared passion for the promotion of enterprise existed, and that a culture emerged without any clear or observable decision making. An identified position exists at the case study school where “the dominant [enterprise] values, the accepted rules of the game, the existing power relations among groups ... effectively prevent certain grievances from developing into fully fledged issues which call for decisions” (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 641).

The third dimension of power provides an added insight. A successful fusion occurred at the case study school between enterprise and school values. A contribution of the values of Edmund Rice to the culture of enterprise is acknowledged: “the college has developed a specific brand of EE” (National Facilitator). The culture is fuelled by media coverage. An impression is created that everybody in the college community can be winners as a result of the YES programme. The success of YES provides “everyone in the school [with] benefits from it including; teachers, students, the BoT, parents and the community” (National Facilitator). The college, supported and encouraged by both facilitators, “consciously or unconsciously created or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts” (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 949).

However, with a small number of students directly involved, it is difficult to envisage how the real interests of all students within college community are being met by YES success. It appears a deficit is not named or acknowledged by either facilitator. Such a position indicates a very effective culture existed that ensured compliance, thereby securing domination over real interests by creating a false consciousness to support EE. To “assume the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus” (Lukes, 2005, p. 28). As a result, the effect of power on interests needs to be “measured not just by reference to express preferences but also to grievances that have not reached expression in the political arena” (Lukes, 2005, p. 111). Power is at work preventing grievances from being expressed along with not acknowledging, listening to or engaging with all stakeholders. Both facilitators have exhibited a wilful blindness to the existence and views of non-participants. The non-YES students and teachers are excluded from all processes, have to be silent, and bask in the reflective glory realised by a few YES students.

12.8 Conclusion

Both facilitators of the YES programme provided a similar definition of EE. Each facilitator has a different relationship with the case study school, but both have benefited from the school's success. Both operate in a competitive environment for funding and media publicity not dissimilar to schools.

The SMT and the YES teacher are identified as initiating and sharing power with respect to EE. An enterprise culture existed at the school. A key feature of the culture is the national recognition and publicity received from YES successes. Media publicity supports the power of EE; both facilitators were identified as beneficiaries of this publicity, with a shared interest in the ongoing success of the college.

Barriers to enterprise success were identified by both facilitators: teachers. The regional facilitator also considers them a barrier from the perspective of the school. This view is reflected in the voices of students, SMT and YES mentors.

Winners from the YES programme include students, but the regional facilitator suggested student exploitation may be present. The national facilitator employed a generalised view of YES winners. No losers were identified or acknowledged. A lack of voice and critical thinking was exhibited by both facilitators in terms of identifying losers.

Funders are important for YES national and regional facilitators. The views of funders about their thinking, expectations in return for support, at a regional and national level is important. Their expectations and why they seek enterprise delivery through facilitators, and not direct provision is important.

Lukes' (2005) model assists in identifying power held by the regional and national funders of enterprise. All dimensions provide insight and go beyond seeing power solely as an exercise fallacy that is committed by those for whom power can only mean the causing of an observable sequence of events. The equating of power with success in decision making, or to be powerful, is to win or prevail. Alternatively, Lukes' (2005) model also shows power as more than a "vehicle fallacy". The idea is that power is whatever goes into

operating when power is activated. An example is for a military analyst “to equate power with power resources such as wealth, status and military forces and weapons; but having the means of power is not the same as having power” (Lukes, 2005, p. 70). Although both situations can identify and/or indicate power, they lack a broad definition of power provided by Lukes’ (2005) model. By engaging a wider model of power, a more accurate indication as to the strength of funders or business influence can be provided.

Chapter 13

Funder Voices of Enterprise Education

13.1 Introduction

Both national and regional facilitators of the YES programme are reliant on external funding. The public voices of both regional and national funders of YES facilitators are captured. The decision to capture these voices is material, as without private funder support EE would not be delivered. Funders include one substantial national business association (National Funder A) and its Canterbury-based regional business body (Regional Funder A). The voice of New Zealand's largest charitable trust is also captured (National Charitable Trust A) as well as the public voice of New Zealand's largest privately owned company that provides, via a foundation, substantial financial support to the national YES facilitator (National Foundation A). Responses from funders include their motivations for support. Most funders have only a limited knowledge of the case study school. Further, funders have a clear choice in terms of decisions whether to fund EE or not. Both national and regional funders have a shared vision of embedding enterprise into all schools. The voice of funders is a privileged one. The collective voices shared a common vision, with an agreed mechanism for the delivery of enterprise.

13.2 Background and Definition of EE

All funders support EE. This support has arisen out of specific interests or through historic connection. New Zealand's largest private company is a 20-year supporter of YET. The public voice of this organisation has been judging the national competitions for two decades. A tenuous link exists with the case study school: "I was a judge at the YES nationals for a number of years and remember when that great company StopCom, from the case study school, won the Lion Foundation Company of the Year Award (2004)" (National Foundation A). At a regional level, another key funder provides support which evolved out of a passion to link schools with business: "I am working to see an enterprise linkage continue" (Regional Funder A). All public voices and their organisations have a long-term interest in EE that has grown out of interest, passion or an historical connection.

Although each funder puts forward a different definition of EE, they all contained the shared words and themes of ‘promoting businesses’, ‘encouraging entrepreneurship’ and supporting ‘young New Zealanders’. Such an approach is consistent with mentors (see Chapter 10). Definitions included references made to the economic survival argument of neo-liberalism: “our focus [is] on increasing living standards and [we] will do whatever it takes” (National Foundation A). One funder made the suggestion of allowing “individual schools to come up with a definition which works for them ... rather than trying to impose a standard definition” (National Funder A). This approach reflects current practice at the case study school. In sum, funders of enterprise have a clear vision to promote national economic growth and teach business skills to students.

13.3 School Participation: Equality across Schools and Barriers within Schools

According to all YES funders, fairness and equality between all schools is being achieved. An acknowledgement exists that socio-economic status and geographical spread are issues, but there is a firm belief that the YES programme can transcend any barriers. No school is deemed a loser by funders: “when you look at the more isolated regions of New Zealand they are all doing very well” (National Foundation A). It is argued that success does not necessarily equate with monetary resources, according to three funders: “at the end of the day monetary resources will help, but it’s [up to] the young adults to get out there and do it” (National Charitable Trust A). Despite such rhetoric, real issues exist for schools in low socio-economic areas engaging with mentors. A parent talks about alienation and marginalisation of life in a small school on the West Coast: “what chances do our kids have, how they can compete with the city schools in YES; there is no sponsorship or business support available” (*Christchurch Star*, 2005, p. 3). However, all funders remain clear that quality mentors make the difference and are available: “mentors are accessible and make the difference” (Regional Funder A). Funders do concede parents and networks are of material value in realising success. Despite this acknowledgment, funders remained confident that student success can be achieved without these connections. “Students from low-decile schools could be disadvantaged. You wouldn’t want to underestimate the networks they may have and the resources they may well have” (National Foundation A). However, as with the accessibility and value of mentors, a firm belief existed that socio-economic status is not a barrier to successful participation. Therefore, no school is a loser.

13.3.1. Obstacles within Schools

Barriers to EE could include anti-enterprise cultures within schools and teacher resistance: “teachers see enterprise signalling a right-wing intrusion which will destroy a school” (Regional Funder A). In order to reduce barriers, strategies are identified. Two funders suggested performance pay to overcome any teacher barrier. Another more creative possibility was suggested of “teacher exposure to enterprise, via travel opportunities” (Funder C). However, after discussion on possible incentives concluded, all funders acknowledged a professional duty of care owed to all students to embrace EE existed: “you can’t be critical of it, it’s core life skills” (National Foundation A). As with other stakeholders, no attempt was made to understand teacher opposition. In sum, there is a shared belief that barriers to EE are limited to teacher opposition. No exploration of the reasons for such opposition was made by funders.

13.4 Marketing and Values

A shared goal exists for locking enterprise into all secondary schools. What funders have identified is the need for successful EE role models, including the case study school. Funders have a determination to ensure other schools adopt similar models and are prepared to resource it. An existing network of enterprise was provided by regional and national facilitators. The enterprise facilitator YET is viewed as a robust provider of enterprise programmes: “we are aligned in terms of values. It is a very sophisticated organisation and extends across the country” (National Charitable Trust A). Nationally, funders want “to tap in to their credibility, knowledge and experience because they know what works and what doesn’t, and [will be] leveraging that as much as possible and extending the reach of enterprise” (National Foundation A).

Returns from supporting EE differ depending on the funder. Some returns are focused solely on providing business experience and skills development (National Charitable Trust A). However, different funder motivation exists. One example is an NGO who is seeking brand recognition and future members. Rotary (New Zealand) sought to leverage off enterprise. The NGO planned to assist YET financially in future programme delivery. Their goal is to assist with developing practical business skills among the young:

Rotary has a vital role to play in helping in education. We offer great value to New Zealand and need exposure to potential new members of our clubs. The Rotary symbol will be proudly displayed in each school supported by the Rotary Clubs of New Zealand. If every club in the country sponsored one or two schools a year, we will achieve our goal of 50% of New Zealand's school children being shown just how important commerce, business and wealth creation is for their future prosperity (O'Brien, 2005).

Part of the rationale for Rotary engagement is a national economic growth argument advocated by neo-liberalism. Like other stakeholders, including the Church, Rotary is seeking relevance and survival in a new environment. EE provides opportunities for funders to gain entry into classrooms to promote enterprise and their organisations.

13.5 Expectations

All funders have clear expectations of enterprise facilitators. The primary expectation is the delivery of business skills and assisting in positive community engagement. The instilling of business skills is a priority for funders: "we want schools to understand the importance of entrepreneurship" (Regional Funder A); and "all students to recognise the dynamics of business, the role that business plays in the community" (National Charitable Trust A). Another funder also sees facilitators as providing a community laundering or cleansing processes in terms of organisational reputation. The funder's primary revenue stream comes from gambling machines:

We have massive perception issues in terms of the benefit of what we do with the money versus the issues around problem gambling and the problem gambling issue are highly emotive and have been completely overblown in recent times. So for us funding programmes like enterprise is all about raising awareness at a community level. It's all about educating people; money is going back to the local community (National Charitable Trust A).

A positive community engagement is a clear expectation for this funder; however, the primary aim of all voices is for the delivery of business awareness and skills. The case study school is able to provide a good role model for business with an emphasis on

community engagement.

13.6 Winners and Losers

Winners are clearly identified and celebrated by funders. No losers are identified. The collective range of potential winners identified includes “schools, principals, students and YES teachers” (National Foundation A). A representative example is provided by one funder who has “no doubts the students in the particular school who win or just participate are winners” (Regional Funder A). Despite a standard rendition of what winning looks like, a silence exists when the naming of possible losers was requested. Only winners and an unwavering, focused belief in the value of EE were provided from participants. However, for students to win a competition implies there must be losers. It is clear that funders require enterprise values to be delivered in schools. Further, in the prevailing neo-liberal environment acknowledgment of losers has not occurred. The silence suggests a false consciousness prevails and points to the existence of power.

13.7 Funders of Enterprise: Model of Power

The captured voice of funders is material. However, only a limited knowledge of the case study school exists. One national funder noted the intent of all: “we are here for the good” (National Funder A). The voice of funders is a well-resourced and privileged one. The voice is clear in terms of a vision for EE. No actual and observable behaviour was recorded by funders, consistent with the first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model. Teachers are considered a barrier or a potential source of conflict, but no behaviours are evidenced. There is a suggestion for incentives to encourage teachers. This suggestion would remove the issue from any agenda and is consistent with the second dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power.

The voice of funders is able to express a definition containing similarities. Despite some consistency, a lack of a uniform definition fits within the second dimension of power Lukes’ (2005) model. A specific definition is not on the agenda (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). It is worth noting the status quo is very acceptable to one funder: “individual schools need to come up with a definition of that works for them” (National Charitable Trust A).

The third dimension of Lukes' (2005) model also captures power as reflected in the voices of funders. EE is seen as mainstream. It is justified on the basis of student benefit and no inequality in the delivery of YES exists that cannot be overcome. No losers can be identified by the national and regional funders. The status of funders is an elite and privileged group who have an interest in enterprise success.

There appears to be acceptance that business influence is essential for national economic survival. A consensus of responses focuses on economic arguments, student skill acquisition and community engagement. Such a consensus, or false consciousness, is in the real interests of most stakeholders. A similarity of the position of funders is shared with students, enterprise teachers, SMT and mentors. The framing of language is integral in advancing these arguments: "exposure to commercial thinking and language provides the power to influence entrepreneurial attitudes for New Zealand's future growth prospects" (Business NZ, 2006). These shared funder beliefs serve "to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations" (Lukes, 2005, p. 63). There is no question the arguments of national economic survival serve the effectiveness of power that is being hidden from view in accordance with the second and third dimensions of Lukes' (2005) model of power.

13.8 Conclusion

The values of EE are shared by funders at regional and national levels. It is clear funders influence the education environment: a clear intent exists. Funders speak with a common voice and expectations, with a vision of the benefits EE provide. Funders make very clear decisions to fund enterprise facilitators as opposed to other activities. It is not surprising that only positive benefits and winners are identified as a result of support for enterprise programmes.

Funders are silent on any losers. Geographical distance and low socio-economic status of schools provide no identified barriers to success. Throughout the capture of funder voices, there is a silence on all issues of equality and equity among schools and the issue of unfair advantage is not addressed. There were no expressions of doubt. In addition to individual benefits being identified for YES participants, reference was made to the economic well-being of the nation. This neo-liberal argument is frequently used by mentors, YES

facilitators, the SMT and students to justify EE.

Teachers are also identified as a barrier to student engagement with EE. This theme is consistent with perceptions of the SMT, students, mentors, and regional and national facilitators.

Funders have clear expectations that EE will spread to the hearts and minds of all students. In order to achieve this goal, an existing credible network of facilitators is in place engaging with students. Although no direct relationship exists with the case study school, all funders are aware of its role-model status. A mutuality of interests exists between the two.

Many of the arguments provided by funders favouring EE are repeated by the national voices of enterprise. Indeed, arguments relating to the need to compete and national economic survival are themes interwoven among a variety of stakeholder voices. The arguments are based on neo-liberal philosophies and assumptions. It has been the dominant view among previous stakeholders that no losers exist from YES participation at the case study school. This view is repeated by funders at both a regional and national level. However, the national voices of enterprise name losers including students, teachers and communities.

Lukes' (2005) model of power assists when examining why losers are excluded from the process. The model assists in addressing the question and providing answers as to why specific stakeholders, or individual voices within them, do not get a say or believe they have to be silent. This reduces those within the school community and beyond to passive spectators of the success of YES.

Chapter 14

National Voices of Enterprise Education

14.1 Introduction

The national voices captured are those associated with organisations that have publicly advocated or opposed EE. This capture is important because the dominant national voices within this sample have assisted to drive and shape practice and policy. All voices have a connection with the case study school. This connection provides an awareness of an alternate social enterprise model for delivering enterprise.

National Advocate A is a nationally prominent businessman who has been chairperson of the national facilitator of EE. Further, he has funded enterprise awards at the case study school: “somehow the case study school started to emerge and came across my radar screen. My cups and culture around the awarding of them has flourished at the school ever since” (National Advocate A).

National Opponent A is a co-leader and public voice of a national organisation that is committed to realising a free, public, quality education system. The organisation views the emergence of the current model of enterprise as a threat.

Two prime ministers have visited the college to affirm enterprise activities: one has been a shareholder in a school YES team. Several members of parliament regularly engage with school enterprise programmes. Politicians are keen to align and be seen supporting a role model of EE. A minister of commerce, and YES shareholder, explained his historical and current connections to the school:

I am not surprised to find the approach at this school in terms of EE which is to promote social justice and ethical business practice. My father went to an Edmund Rice school in Dunedin (Member of Parliament A, Celebration Speech, 2008).

These connections with the school are rich and link national voices into an informed capturing of perspectives surrounding EE. Further:

I say as prime minister this is a fantastic school. I remember playing rugby against you 35 years ago and being nailed by one of the wingers so I think I am getting over the bruisers. It is good to see school management are providing entrepreneurial leadership for young New Zealanders [such as] the fine young men here today (Prime Minister-B, Celebration Speech, 2009).

An alternate and opposed voice noted:

I acknowledge the school does have the reputation for having a very broad social justice enterprise approach; another school might choose a different model. I don't think schools should teach exploitation but others might disagree with me and I am sure they do. (National Opponent A)

In this chapter, passions are expressed and arguments are provided for and against EE:

I have never wavered; enterprise has been for me personally one of the best and attractive community service things I have been involved with. I have been involved in business all my life and here is an opportunity to help youngsters develop that same passion. (National Advocate A)

Alternatively, it is argued that if EE comes down to “my dad makes more money than yours then it's highly inconsistent with a quality public education, because it sets up and confirms existing hierarchies of wealth and money” (National Opponent A). These voices represent the two conflicting positions on EE.

14.2 Definition of EE

A very clear difference exists in how EE is defined. These differences were expressed during the public debate on the 2010 national curriculum document and mirrored in interview responses. The national advocates for EE won a significant victory with ‘enterprising’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ values being enshrined as key values. One critical voice noted: “it was a serious retrograde step and represents the power of the business lobby which has mounted a well-resourced attempt to skew the curriculum to reflect narrow capitalist values” (Quality Public Education Coalition [QPEC], communication, 7 November 2007). It was also noted that the term “entrepreneurial has a specific meaning, which is running a business to make a profit, but lacks the inclusion of co-operatives,

credit unions, profit sharing or trade unions” (National Opponent A). The curriculum includes the words ‘enterprising’ and ‘entrepreneurial’, which align the document with business values. The inclusion of these words is contested by those opposed to EE.

14.3 Concerns Relating to EE

The reality of having students taught enterprising and entrepreneurial values provide both challenges and opportunities for school communities. Implications include whether the programme should be taught as a specific subject or be integrated into existing subjects, or whether it should be compulsory or voluntary. The case study school facilitates the YES programme on an extracurricular and voluntary basis. Both the national advocate and opponent agree enterprise needs to be delivered on a voluntary basis and integrated with existing subjects: “enterprise is out there. I think it should be about themes like environmental education” (National Opponent A). Similarly, “I am an advocate for freedom and my instinct is very strongly to say: it ought to be voluntary” (National Advocate A). A similarity of position exists for enterprise to be incorporated into an integrated curriculum. Such a move would achieve a consensus between the two national voices.

Similarities exist between both national voices in terms of expressing a public voice. Both groups are developing media profiles to advance their positions in relation to EE. Both are in competition for media exposure and policy acceptance. Just like the case study school, both recognise and acknowledge the power of the media in expressing their views. QPEC has a primary information source on its website and it has moved to a more shared approach in terms of media dissemination. “Our website is the main thing with six spokespersons and we have quite a big voice to engage the media” (National Opponent A). An increase in media exposure has also been realised by the YET:

Certainly, over the last eight to ten years the activities of the Trust have become much better publicised. We have found ways and means to get the word out there. In terms of the dollar value of its activities it is at three times what it was ten years ago. I think it’s because we have learnt how to get the word out and in addition to that the word ‘enterprise’ in education circles has become respectable and it wasn’t 10 years ago. (National Advocate A)

Both national organisations actively seek to access the power of the media to promote their respective positions. Both organisations are seeking to frame issues and arguments to win public favour. The two voices are aware of media power of the case study school, and seek to connect to its successful media profile.

Despite a national curriculum being applied to all schools, differences in resourcing exists between schools. All national voices have an appreciation of inequalities. These inequalities present barriers, as in “a remote area there are fewer opportunities for entrepreneurship, you have not got customers around” (National Advocate A). However, the view is these barriers can be overcome and the market will provide. This position mirrors that of funder stakeholders (see Chapter 11): “we simply have to do the best with what we have got. You have to play the cards you [have] got” (National Advocate A). Although a market solution is advocated, acknowledgement exists of inherent inequalities between schools.

14.4 Marketing and Framing of Language

Advancing a pro-enterprise agenda requires tools for marketing. A strategy is the framing and controlling of the language employed. Moving from school to school capturing the “hearts and minds of those within a school” (National Advocate A) is an identified approach. A key requirement is a clear goal and a champion within each organisation. Another tool identified to advance enterprise is excellent role-modelling schools.

A champion within a school is needed to follow specific techniques of engagement. The following is an approach advocated by a national voice of enterprise:

With any existing structure of a school you are seeking to bring in a new influence on that structure in terms of how it operates or a new paradigm, a new way of working. It won't happen [without a] particular course, you need a very clear definition, you need to set your goal. That champion has to work away at this goal and remind everyone else around them every five minutes that that is the goal, and find a way to be tactfully reminding them when they are putting the goal in jeopardy. Now that champion may be the principal, the BoT or it may be a respected member of the team at a lower level. It needs to be someone who is

respected enough to be able to adopt their own style as to how you chisel away at everybody to have them thinking your way. (National Advocate A)

This advocate further relates:

Now there are ways to achieve this. For instance, if you want people to believe in your cause, ...the first things you do [are] control the language and invent a few little cute phrases that will promote your goal, and you never lose an opportunity to use one of those phrases. In six weeks they are all using those phrases. The minute they are using the phrases it's dropping into their subconscious. Now that might sound tripe and banal but it works – I have done it. It's amazing how a phrase that you get into the community, in six weeks it's come back somebody dishing it back to you like it's their idea. You can have an enormous influence and power, develop a lot of respect plus have a lot of fun with it (National Advocate A).

Such an approach is naturally dependant on having identified a good champion. The insight provided by National Advocate A reveals the mechanics of manipulation and power that language can achieve in a school environment. What is suggested by advocates of enterprise is a strategy and techniques to create influence within a school environment that have been successfully employed at the case study school.

14.5 Winners and Losers

Different voices provide perspectives on those enriched and those disadvantaged by the experience of enterprise. Supporters of enterprise state losers are those who do not support enterprise, including the YES programme. A suggestion exists, by voices for and against enterprise, that the MoE emerges a winner. A haze has been created on the battleground for those national voices advocating and those expressing concerns about EE. A presumption appears to exist that business interests have greater power but this is not necessarily the case. The MoE could well be a winner. Partnerships between schools and business are fully encouraged by the MoE. The benefits to be derived from engagement between schools and business include:

Schools providing access to curriculum expertise; equipment and facilities; develop[ing] a greater understanding; benefits to schools including motivated students through partnership activities and opportunities (Fancy, 2005).

Such initiatives are seen as unacceptable by those opposing EE: “schools are underfunded; if the Ministry thinks every school in the country is going to become a Mainfreight [business] school then the fight will continue” (National Opponent A). Supporters of EE are clear that those “who do not support YES are losers along with those who do not align to it” (National Advocate A). In sum, the dominant values of enterprise continue to dominate.

The opponents to enterprise education are clear the majority of students and schools will not be winners. Their real interests will not be met by EE. A few well-resourced, high-decile schools with a motivating teaching staff will flourish. There is a purported understanding by opponents to enterprise of how it was sold to the case study school:

There is kudos for business to gain from working with schools like the (case study) school and of course the other advantage that you have is that it is a Catholic school who are seen as better than ordinary state schools whether or not that [is] true. (National Opponent A)

National voices opposed to EE are clear that the current model for delivery disadvantages the majority of students and schools. Advocates for enterprise see the only losers as students and schools who do not choose to engage with EE. The MoE is identified by opponents of enterprise as winning by not resourcing or advocating clear leadership. By refusing to define enterprise clearly and encouraging school–business partnerships, the MoE is seen as avoiding key responsibilities. Painting the broad picture of EE, letting schools and business work out the details, provides an issue for national voices opposed to enterprise.

14.6 National Voices of Enterprise: Model of Power

There is a difference of view between national voices that advocate for and against enterprise in schools. The decision on the 2010 national curriculum to include values of enterprise and entrepreneurship was made in an environment of conflict. The decision favoured those who advocate EE within schools. This overt decision falls within the first dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model of power.

Both national voices and their respective national organisations are in competition for media attention to improve their profiles. The voices have no objection to business, only on the method of delivery to school students. The case study school provides an insight that has both informed and captured the attention of national voices. The school's approach to enterprise is symbolic of a tension that currently exists in the commercial world between social enterprise and commercial enterprise. There is acknowledgement by both national voices of the balance being attempted by the college: "I am not surprised to find the approach the school has adopted in terms of EE is to promote social justice and ethical business practice" (Prime Minister B, 2007). It is clear the voices supporting enterprise within schools are prevailing. This dominance has primarily occurred, with the exception of the curriculum debate, through non-public resourcing and decision making. Power needs to be seen as domination, as reflected in enterprise values and 'the rules of the game'. Such an environment "prevents certain grievances from developing into fully fledged issues which call for decisions" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962, p. 641). No national EE decisions or discussions have ever occurred; no agenda exists on this issue. Such a position is consistent with the second dimension of Lukes' (2005) model.

Both distinct national voices fully engage in putting forward their positions to the media but do not engage in dialogue or discussion. There exists a proactive and reactive engagement. There is agreement on EE content but not on delivery. This is a similar position to the Catholic Church standoff on EE. The MoE has encouraged this deadlock by a refusal to engage. The contribution of the MoE is a vague values-based definition and suggestion for school-business partnerships. The result is a haze. In sum, the MoE has emerged as a winner. Schools and business are being left to sort out the details of partnerships, and schools are left to develop a definition and practice for enterprise. Such a position is consistent with non-decision making. Power is not "totally embodied and fully reflected in concrete decisions" (Lukes, 2005, p. 19). The issue of enterprise is not on an agenda for discussion due to different but equally strong voices and dominant power interests.

The overall position in the debate over EE is consistent with Lukes' (2005) model of power. There is certainly conflict in terms of the first dimension of power: there is non-decision making in terms of enterprise by the MoE. The national voices that advocate and oppose enterprise battle on the periphery. Further, a third dimension of power is manifest

in shaping “how we think of power”, which “may serve to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations ... and contribute to their continued functioning” (Lukes, 2005, p. 63). The effectiveness of this dimension is increased by it being hidden from view. As with other stakeholders, a justification for promotion of enterprise is framed in the context of the economic national interest. This approach is further assisted by the framing of language to sell enterprise within schools. Power as domination is reflected in the dominant values of enterprise. Although grievance and a lack of consensus exist, there is growing compliance.

The case study school is identified as a national model of what is possible. However, the school is a unique case, which would be difficult to replicate (see Chapter 15). At the school, the power of institutional rituals and culture are significant and represent the third dimension of power. A consensus and acceptance of mainstream enterprise values at the case study school exists and is being generalised to other schools.

14.7 Conclusion

An insight into national voices, for and against enterprise, provides clear insights to assist with addressing the two research questions. A feature of this research is the lack of a consistent and concise definition for EE. In terms of national voice, there is a continuance of generalised definitions. A focus on the attributes of being both enterprising and entrepreneurial is a requirement of the national curriculum (2010).

Both national voices actively seek to access the power of the media to promote their respective positions. There is scope for consensus in terms of the delivery of EE as part of an integrated curriculum, and on a voluntary or extracurricular basis. Those who do not support EE do not consider themselves antibusiness.

By providing a generalised framework, the MoE is providing a big picture view. Apart from a framework, no further leadership or resourcing of enterprise has occurred. Such an approach is consistent with a neo-liberal environment. By employing strategies of non-decision making and non-engagement, the MoE is identified as a winner and as holding power and influence in terms of EE.

While a public debate continues, EE is winning on the ground by employing good strategies to recruit more schools. Advocates have a strategy of identifying champions and framing language. In terms of winning, both national voices are clear that schools such as the case study are winners through having the resources and motivated SMT and teachers. National voices for enterprise consider that the only losers are schools and students who do not engage. Those who oppose the current model of enterprise delivery suggest the majority of schools and students will be losers. Both winners and losers are explicit outcomes from competition. A defining characteristic of a neo-liberal environment is competition.

Chapter 15

Discussion and Implications

15.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to capture an extraordinary Enterprise Education journey. I have attempted to evaluate the school journey, and inform future practice and policy. A story is captured of how one school has responded to EE, including its internal and external relationships. Insight is provided into a neo-liberal phenomenon which is driven by business and government, and played out through various stakeholders within the school. Nevertheless, as this thesis has demonstrated, these relationships and influences are highly ‘fluid’. Lukes’ (2005) model of power provides insight into the power relationships surrounding an extraordinary school. The model also embraces the work of Freire (1981) and Foucault (1980) with respect to the power of language. Freire also provides an insight into hierarchy, justice and education. Foucault provides insight into institutional control through both assessment and surveillance. This research reveals and clarifies the interests of stakeholders, providing patterns of commonality and difference. Such analysis reveals implications for practice, informs future policy and examines unanswered questions around real interests and moral responsibility.

15.1.1. An Extraordinary School

This research matches up the phenomenon of EE with an extraordinary school. The school has realised a pattern of national and international awards and media attention over the past 10 years. The application of Lukes’ (2005) model of power within this environment has assisted in answering significant questions relating to EE. Specifically:

1. Where does power lie in terms of enterprise education within New Zealand secondary schools and why is it important to identify where the power lies?
2. Who are the winners and losers of enterprise education?

These questions arise out of the lack of detailed knowledge of the operations of EE within

New Zealand schools.

A single case study captures a variety of interactions, but scope exists for wider application beyond the school: “an intensive study of a single case site can be generalised to other sites” (Gerring, 2007, p. 13). An extreme study provides an excellent insight into EE. In justifying research methods, I have provided an explanation for my actions. Although, as Williams (2000) indicates, researchers may not even be consciously aware of subordinating moral values in favour of those that meet personal or social aspirations. It was therefore essential to adopt a reflexive approach. Combining insider knowledge, an ongoing awareness of ethical issues, and a sole case study assists in making a unique methodological, theoretical, and practical contribution on EE.

15.2 Research Findings

As may be expected, patterns of commonality and exceptions emerged during the stakeholder analysis. An absolute commonality of stakeholder voices identifies the positive media attention generated through YES, acceptance of a social enterprise model, and affirming an in-place culture of non-decision making. Further, there appears universal agreement on an enterprise culture existing at the college, and teachers have regularly been identified as providing a barrier to its development.

Nevertheless, the majority of stakeholders were unable to provide a consistent definition of EE (see also Lewis & Massey, 2003; Renwick & Gray, 2001). The definitions included mixed reference to skills acquisition, experience and a need to realise profits. However, regional and national facilitators of YES expressed a definition aligned with the values-based approach of the MoE. Both mentors and funders expressed a definition strikingly similar to the OECD definition of business practice. An implication of different enterprise practice and processes is highly probable given the reported variance in definitions. There is a need for consistent practice, deriving from a standard definition. This would assist both teachers and students in the delivery and assessment of EE. A clear definition would also assist in reducing inequalities, socio-economic and geographic, which some schools currently experience.

All stakeholders acknowledged the considerable marketing benefits associated with the

YES programme. Agreement also exists in terms of winners and losers. The national funders have no proximate relationship with the school so cannot comment on YES initiation. The remaining stakeholders agree that the initiation and development of EE at the case study school is attributed to the SMT and YES teacher. Both parties were clearly identified as ‘winners’ along with other stakeholders, excluding those who oppose EE nationally. The term ‘winners’ is used to describe having realised a perceived benefit from YES participation either as a student, related stakeholder, or third party. All YES students were identified as ‘winners’ in terms of enhanced learning opportunities. Overall, no ‘losers’ were identified apart from those students who ‘choose’ not to participate. Interestingly, students who chose not to engage did not see themselves as losers, just non-participants. There was discussion around equity and equality issues between schools, but no stated awareness barriers to selection existed.

Within the school, there is no acknowledgment of arguments raised by those nationally opposed to EE, and no desire to engage with certain stakeholder groups over EE discussions, examples of which include teaching staff, school council, or the local Catholic parish. It appears any discussion may be seen to put in jeopardy the success of the current YES programme.

Within the school, stakeholders referred to the lack of access to the YES programme. This position was in contrast to the public position. Wilful blindness existed in terms of a non-transparent process of student selection. All stakeholders seek continuance of current enterprise practices, including non-decision making. A further variance occurs in terms of regional YES facilitation. Students, SMT and mentors all expressed negative responses to regional facilitation. However, all were aware of the ‘rules of the game’ and remained silent. Various stakeholders consistently and publicly praised the regional facilitator. They were the gatekeepers to achieving national success.

A school culture of non-decision making is apparent across all stakeholders. Enterprise ‘just happened’ with different stakeholders merely affirming the new phenomenon or actively participating. No stakeholder can point to a decision(s) to engage in EE or a social enterprise model. On three occasions when conflicts arose, staff were reminded of their employment status, a reversal of a decision over biscuit pricing occurred and a withdrawal from conflict with a local priest (see Chapter 6). These incidents reveal two different types

of power: direct intervention and removing matters from the public view or off the school agenda. Surprisingly, no conflict or anti-enterprise behaviours were evidenced from teaching staff. Yet, a majority of stakeholders, including mentors, SMT, funders, national advocates, YES facilitators and students, have all identified teachers as barriers to EE. Despite this chorus of identification, only one example was provided. Such a lack of explicit actions or behaviours, but strong identification, could indicate conflict exists but is being effectively masked (Scott, 1990).

Universal praise is provided for the social enterprise model. The developed model embraces school values, and is exceptional in terms of partnerships with commercial organisations, NGOs and community groups. With the exception of one voice within the Church, an alignment between Catholic and enterprise values exists. However, there are deficits. Teachers who oppose enterprise talk of a lack of enterprise consultation or discussion. The uneven application of school resources favouring enterprise, including financial support and SMT time, is a consistent theme. There is a clear opportunity cost: school resources allocated to EE are not available to support other subjects. Several stakeholders, including students, SMT and the BoT, have identified non-values based products as an issue. Despite deficits the model has secured permanency at the school. The culture of EE is supported by rituals and processes within the school. No other sport or cultural activity is treated in the same manner as YES.

Interestingly, there is one common area of agreement between national voices advocating and opposing EE. Agreement exists that EE should be delivered on a voluntary and thematic basis. Further, there was no opposition to teaching the content, skills and values of business, only disagreement over EE delivery.

Findings have revealed exceptions and variance between individuals within stakeholder groups and views expressed by a minority of stakeholders. Within two significant stakeholder groups, a difference of views existed with the public voice of each organisation. In both cases, involving the NZ Catholic Bishops Secretariat and NZPPTA, public voices were largely ignored and the practice of supporting enterprise reflected the real position of stakeholders.

YES students identified themselves as having a power and status within the school, yet this

was not acknowledged by other stakeholders. Further, framing and use of language to market and promote EE was identified by only two voices: a leading national enterprise teacher facilitator and a national advocate for enterprise.

Finally, one mentor and several students expressed difficulties with a former school principal. The concerns relate to what was perceived as being too much interference in the running of YES companies, as this principal had a hands-on approach. Evidence of this difficult relationship was not reported by other stakeholders. It appears that the SMT and students now have an understanding as to the acceptable boundaries for YES operations.

The identified patterns reveal a strikingly similar broad picture of EE at the case study school. In seeking to explain this situation and the overall findings, Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional model of power provides a detailed framework to explain the levels or differentiation of power as expressed by stakeholders.

15.3 Application of Lukes' Model of Power

The key question Lukes (2005) seeks an answer to is: how does domination work? How do the powerful secure the compliance (willing and unwilling) of those they dominate (Lukes, 2005)?

In terms of the first dimension of Lukes' (2005) model, research findings identify a lack of conflict. Only one incident is referred to by students (see Section 5.6). The principal intervened to ensure student biscuits were priced below competitors to preserve the market dominance of the YES team. The power and influence of EE is difficult to capture within this dimension. YES students and the SMT, while pursuing self-interest, seek to avoid conflict as this may put in jeopardy chances of YES success. Written and spoken language is aligned with YES compliance. No stakeholder is prepared to challenge and speak out in a public context within the college community. The only available option is silence even though there are ways of doing 'other'.

The second dimension of power highlights the way in which conflicts are avoided via the removal of significant issues from agendas (Lukes, 2005; Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). An example from the case study is the privately spoken opposition towards the regional YES

coordinator as expressed by students, teachers, the SMT, the BoT and mentors. However, no stakeholder has mentioned this with a public voice so as not to disadvantage the position of students and the school. Conflict is avoided due to the need to pursue personal and institutional self-interest. The priest incident (see Section 9.4) was also responded to using methods of avoidance. It was easier for the SMT to relocate school religious masses than confront the issue. Further, student selection of YES participants is also an issue that is off any public agenda. Decisions are made in a non-transparent manner with no consultation beyond the YES teacher and SMT. This is a practice each stakeholder group wants continued.

Another application of the second dimension of power relates to a lack of a consistent definition for EE. With the exception of YES facilitators and funders, all stakeholders struggle with a clear or concise definition (Dwerryhouse, 2001; Hytti & O’Gorman, 2004). No leadership, with respect to definition, was provided by any stakeholder and was not on any school or a national agenda. The MoE is comfortable with the status of a non-defined EE. This is potentially because not formally defining the concept in policy documents reduces a potential point of public conflict and debate.

The third dimension of Lukes’ (2005) model identifies an enterprise culture at the case study school that “serves to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations” (p. 63). The distinctive contribution of the first edition of Lukes’ (1974) model was the illumination of a third ‘supreme exercise of power’. Stakeholder A may exercise power over stakeholder B by infusing, shaping or determining this very wants, and thus suppressing B’s own awareness of his or her unrealised interest. During this process, beliefs are continually shaped and influenced through subtle and pervasive mechanisms, including use of the media, which provides validity of the practices associated with EE.

Power may be the most insidious, subtle and pervasive (Lukes, 2005). Perceptions and beliefs are also continually shaped or influenced by the process of socialisation and mass media. All stakeholders equated patterns of positive media engagement with the school’s success. The linkage is clear between a culture of power, values and positive media coverage, and it is evidenced by all stakeholders. Indeed, all schools need positive media coverage as they seek competitive advantage in the new operating environment provided by *Tomorrow Schools* (Wylie, 1995) (see Chapter 1). Schools now manage within baseline

funding and the only scope to increase revenue is to attract new students, preferably international, and commercial activity (Thrupp, 2001).

A pattern of college indoctrination has occurred and is consistent with neo-liberal policy positions (Lukes, 2005). Reflected in operational practice, changes include contracting key support services over a six-year period, including cleaning (Field Note: 04/05/2005), ground maintenance (Field Note: 08/06/2008), computer information support and tuckshop operations (06/05/2009). In 2008, the college appointed a business manager and incorporated this role into the SMT (Field Note: 07/06/2009). Students now have a proximate example of a functional business model: the case study school. In terms of Lukes' model a new form of control exists over the school agenda. It is a control which will influence all decision making throughout the school community. The real and predominant interest will be business and not solely an educational duty of care (Lukes, 2005: Freire, 1981).

15.3.1. A Social Enterprise Model

Within the new education environment, the case study school has developed a social enterprise dimension to capture media attention and align with the teachings of Edmund Rice. The social enterprise model has provided a competitive edge and silences voices of opposition. Organisations and visitors to the college seek to be aligned to this successful variant of EE. YES team products, community partnerships and patterns of rhetoric ensured media attention. Most stakeholders refer to the term 'social enterprise'. Such a model makes enterprise more acceptable within the school and wider community. The only stakeholders who do not refer to social enterprise are the national funders and facilitators of EE who chose not to label it as such, preferring the standard YES approach.

15.4 What Are the Implications of Unanswered Questions and Ambiguities?

Unanswered questions provide ongoing issues for some stakeholders. A culture exists at the school in which selected students identify a community cause with the hope of creating media attention. This draws attention to the social enterprise model. No stakeholder rejects the model. Social enterprise provides a more acceptable model to the community because it is not hard core business. It takes the difficult business focus off the agenda. The evidence

provided by participants reiterates profit is not the sole criteria for success. Community engagement, and socially aligned products which are of benefit to the marginalised directly, or via profits realised, are defining characteristics of social enterprise.

Research reveals that not all stakeholders have an equal voice: unanswered questions remain in identifying their real interests and attributing moral responsibility. There are no opportunities available at the case study school for stakeholders to explore and discuss unanswered questions. Indeed, the school employs the neo-liberal term ‘stakeholder’ to describe groups it engages with when referring to its enterprise model. Not providing the opportunity to genuinely listen to and engage with all stakeholders has implications. A loss of traditional governance, network governance, checks and balances, and active stakeholder engagement can result in disharmony and could have prevented “stresses and failures” (Pirson & Turnball, 2011, p. 4). This observation is made with respect to the private sector where there are issues and differences, the long-term implications of which are unknown. In comparison the public sector is often perceived as positive.

It is argued that genuine and authentic stakeholder relations are the key to a healthy school environment (Thrupp, 2001, 2007). The case study school has not chosen to engage in meaningful engagement because it is comfortable with the existing power relationships in place. This is not a dissimilar position to the corporate sector that employs corporate social responsibility, including community engagement; initiatives to window dress capitalist endeavours and protect their power structures. Indeed, recent research suggests that companies are “internalising anti-ethical discourses, thereby neutralising opposition, and maintain both capitalisms legitimacy and in certain instances colonialism’s power relations” (Parsons, 2008, p. 7). It is therefore perhaps with some irony that such use of language in the corporate sphere is similar to the notion of ‘social enterprise’ employed at the case study school and by its stakeholders.

15.4.1. The Subtleness between Winning and Losing

A further implication from unanswered questions is a fluidity that exists between winners and losers, and what this means over time. Subtlety prevails. There are no clear definitions of winning and losing (Scott, 1990). Although in practical terms, this usually means in the short-term a stakeholder having their policies and practices implemented. In the longer-

term, it may be interpreted with respect to school profile and policy positions being accepted as ‘natural’, as well as, of course, the long-term ‘success’ of the students who do and do not participate in EE. BoT members gain from a good school profile generated from YES. Non-YES students and teachers experience a lack of acknowledgment, attention and engagement, but benefit with additional student enrolments and funding. Some teachers may object to the new enterprise culture but win in terms of job security. Indeed, YES participants have identified examples of losing in terms of costs of missing schoolwork, class-time, and cultural or institutional exploitation, but also identify as winning in terms of material rewards and prestige. In such a fluid environment, it is difficult to define winning and losing clearly as it depends on specific cases, issues and circumstances.

A MoE curriculum change favouring enterprise had occurred. Such outcomes can produce winning and losing by degrees. Indeed, the case study well reflects Lukes’ (2005, p. 83) observation: “there is no reason for supposing the powerful always threaten, rather than sometimes advance, the interests of others; sometimes, indeed, the use of power can benefit all, albeit usually unequally”. Such an unequal response to neo-liberal education policies within New Zealand mirrors the differences in terms of winning and losing from enterprise that both Thrupp (2007) and Wylie (1995) identified in terms of school structural change. As Scott (1990, p. 197) indicates, “the dominant elite ... is constantly working to maintain and extend its material control and symbolic reach; the subordinate group is correspondingly devising strategies to thwart and reverse that appropriation and to take symbolic liberties as well”. Winning and losing comes down to a “balance of forces [that] is never precisely known’, there is a ‘constant testing of equilibrium’ in a ‘process of search and probing’, where there is a structure of surveillance, reward and punishment” (Lukes, 2005, p. 127). While winners and losers do exist at various scales and on various issues, fluidity usually prevents clear or exacting definitions over time.

15.4.2. Winners and Losers

In terms of providing some clarity around winners and losses, criteria would be of assistance. Criteria for a definition of winning in the context of EE, from a student perspective, would include initial selection, winning of awards and generating positive media attention. For other stakeholders, criteria for winning needs to include having a relationship with the case study school, a continuance of YES teams winning awards and

generating positive media publicity. Criteria for losing would include stakeholders, or voices within stakeholder groups, who are not heard or are silent, or those who have not engaged with YES as a participant or supporter.

Applying such criteria, few losers are identified from this research. A masking or fluidity between winning and losing appears to exist. The class of identified winners is large, including students, senior managers, teachers, mentors, regional and national facilitators, funders, the MoE and business interests. All are very clearly identified as winners from either direct or indirect involvement with the school. Yet part of the story of power and identifying winners and losers involves the less easily observed second and third dimensions of power. There exists a mobilisation of institutional bias against the emergence of overt conflict relating to EE. It is a story, in “a richly textured account of how all these forms of power interact to neutralise potential opposition to the dominance” (Shapiro & Wendt, 1992, p. 44) of YES. Research findings provide evidence on the exercise of different types of power. This situation has generated fluidity between straight winning and losing. However, unanswered questions and issues remain. Due to the subtleness of power, determining clear winners and losers is not always possible and the social enterprise model has very effectively stopped any negative voice.

The personalised and team success stories of YES are told within the school and externally at every opportunity. There is a combining of powers, especially in the second and third dimensions, that frame, shape and distort perceptions of their interests (what they would benefit from). The strategies employed within the school were framing issues in terms of individual success and a national context of economic survival. The success of EE at the case study school and nationally is therefore a story of power.

As noted in Chapter One for Connell and Irving (1980), insights into the relationship between capitalism and power were provided through a journey around a large Australian city. That journey reflected class power and the buildings represent the showpieces of Australasian capitalism. Connell and Irving’s (1980) primary character is advised:

Yes, Virginia, there is a ruling class. And as they said of the architect of St Paul’s in London: ‘*Si momumentum requires, circumspire*’. If you seek its monument, look around you. (p. 45)

In contrast this journey explores education, which is distorted by class power from the university system to schools. A new entrant student to the case study school or a reflective teacher could draw such an insight from a walk around the school. A glance at the framed photographs, of former YES teams, and the art works funded by their endeavours hang in the corridors for all to see to inspire and be admired. “My YES team photograph hangs on the wall: it is our shared legacy and inspiration to future students of what is possible” (Student C).

A story of power therefore helps explain how a medium-sized school in Christchurch came to embrace EE. A wider economic and educational environment generated the conditions that made this embrace possible. The institutional structures of schools and Catholic Church (Freire, 1981) and the national framing of rules favouring enterprise made the case study school’s journey more probable.

15.5 What Are the Unanswered Questions and Ambiguities Resulting from This Research?

Real interests are difficult to ascertain. Questions also surround moral responsibility at the school. These questions are not satisfactorily addressed in this research. The social enterprise model has successfully masked the real interests of some stakeholder groups. Social enterprise has provided a marketing point of difference and as a result, the majority of stakeholders do not want to reduce the barriers of engagement that allow a few students to flourish and status quo to remain. Other stakeholders refuse to name issues, including acknowledging losers. In a commercial environment, critique may be limited, but in its place exists a desire to continue to preserve the point of difference and accentuate the positive. The one differentiating factor is the case study school is meant to have a special character. The special character refers to an embracing of equality, fairness and standing up for the marginalised that serves as the reason for its foundation. A college song sung by all students at public events includes the lyrics “who will speak if we don’t” (Field Notes: 03/11/2005; 06/11/2008). It could be argued that those students and teachers not directly involved with enterprise are marginalised because of its existence. They do not receive any media attention, affirmation from the whole college community nor opportunities to excel on both the national and international stage. Is the student chess player or debater of any

less value? These students did not have the opportunity to showcase achievements when the former principal retired from the college in 2007 or when the prime minister officiated at a school celebration of enterprise in 2009.

Lukes (2005) argues that the real interests of stakeholders can be exposed by establishing the gap between B's real interests and the distorted perception, providing an illumination of unseen power. He distinguished three analytically distinct exercises of power, and illustrated a means of tracing its subtlest expressions. Lukes' (2005) revised view of power as domination provides some assistance in determining real interests. A widened scope now exists. In a school, a variety of real interests exist. The BoT and the SMT are constantly assessing the competing interests for resources and special character requirements of this school. An expectation exists of the case study school to exercise moral responsibility, anchored on Catholic Church values, among stakeholders who have conflicting interests.

Attributing responsibility to those who could act (but do not) is consistent with a conventional understanding of the moral significance of acts of omission. By failing to act when they could, politicians and others in strategic positions may become complicit in domination. However, Lukes (2005) does not make it clear what a leader would have to do to discharge their moral responsibilities. The close linkage of power and moral responsibility is oversimplified. The question arises, what if a school principal's political capital is limited and they are confronted with a clash of responsibilities. Is a principal still dominating those students seeking literary skills if he chooses, for example, to give priority to the dietary needs of hungry students? Unfortunately, Lukes (2005), in the most recent edition of his analysis of power, does not explore the difficulties that such conflicting responsibilities pose to his account of power as a form of domination. But perhaps a critical point to take from Lukes (2005) is that these issues and conflicts that are part of decision making should at least be made more transparent.

At the case study school, all stakeholders are aware of how social enterprise operates. There is no equality of opportunity or level playing field. At the case study school, evidence suggests stakeholders are not exercising a broad moral responsibility, but are pursuing more narrow personal and institutional self-interest. "I would suggest some personal reflection is required by all those party to the enterprise" (Catholic Voice One).

Some individuals within specific stakeholder groups have expressed doubts. All are clearly aware that YES is not a pathway any student can pursue but no one group has publicly named the issue. Stakeholders including the SMT, the BoT and teachers have awareness of the exercise of privilege by YES students, but no change has occurred. An expectation exists that moral responsibility would be stronger in a special character college that promotes both equality and social justice. A wilful blindness is exhibited with dominant stakeholders keen to celebrate the successes, but who stay quiet or choose not to engage with any operational process that while successful in the public arena, work against broad notions of equality and social justice.

Lukes' (2005) model of power leaves unanswered questions of fully identifying real interests and issues of moral responsibility. A culture of enterprise has emerged that is reflective of neo-liberalism. It was noted during one of the many school assemblies where enterprise achievements are celebrated that YES "is special, unique and it's ours by the principal" (Field Note: 04/05/2006). A further example is the standard acknowledgements and reporting of YES celebration contained in a college captain's annual speech: "once again our YES team has won a top national award – we are competitive my brothers and market-ready for the new world we find ourselves in" (Field Note: 05/11/2009). This excerpt expresses the rhetoric of the market. Unfortunately, if it is believed that this is an appropriate educational direction, only a few students have been equipped. An expectation, aligned to the values of a special character school, of an enhanced level of moral responsibility from EE is not evident from the research. It is clear that the case study school has been captured by the power of the language of the market. Yet, a lack of clarity exists at the school around the extent to which the real interests of stakeholders have been affected and where moral responsibility resides.

15.6 What Groups Have Influence and Power at the Case Study School?

Within the case study school, power can be ascribed to specific groups and reflected in practice, procedures and culture. There also exists a wider implication for policy application relating to EE. In terms of Lukes' (2005) model, the three-dimensional framework is employed to identify both power and influence.

The first dimension of power requires conflict in a context of decision making. Power is

identified as winning where one view prevails over others views. At the school, being a winner is equated with regional and national awards and media attention. The application of the first dimension of power has only been observed on two occasions at the case study school. The first involved a teacher's expression of inconvenience over an enterprise event, and the second when a former principal made a decision on YES product pricing. Both these situations were decided in favour of enterprise. There is no doubt the former college principal portrayed himself as a key decision-maker in relation to EE and sought to manage and lead YES companies. However, teachers do not agree. Teachers observed only two occasions that decisions were made in a context of observable conflict. Students consider that decisions were often explicitly being made on their behalf, at board meetings, and often without their authority to external stakeholders.

Conflict arose over the YES scheme involving a local priest who challenged the place of YES within the school (Field Note: 15/08/2007). This challenge or assertion of position is consistent with Lukes' (2005) first dimension of power. However, the only decision making that occurred was the SMT choosing to withdrawal from any further masses at the church, opting instead to use the college hall. This issue was removed from the agenda in a manner consistent with Lukes' second dimension of power (Lukes, 2005). There were suggestions of conflict and possible barriers provided by teaching staff, from multiple sources: SMT, BoT members, mentors and national facilitators of YES. Yet, only two explicit examples were identified. Further, students also noted that a small number of teachers were proactively opposed to EE, but no specific examples of behaviours or power were provided.

Beyond the school, there was clearly conflict over decision making around EE. Debate around the 2010 national curriculum provided an opportunity for a public expression of views. The voices of the teachers' union (NZPPTA) and one marginalised voice opposed to enterprise were expressed but not heard. All that MoE staff and politicians wanted to hear about were winners and to provide an educational response to meet national economic challenges. Within the Catholic Church, the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Secretariat took the opportunity to oppose aspects of EE. Their voices resulted in no change, even within their own school, and the proposed curriculum revisions that advocated the need for enterprise were adopted.

A lack of a clear definition of EE reveals power as captured in Lukes' second dimension of power. Skills, risk taking, themes, enterprising attributes and competences are discussed but no consistent definitions are provided. There is no movement towards providing clarity. A framework for EE exists where schools and business are left to work out the details. A lack of definition is an example of non-decision making, which suggests the MoE, through its lack of definition, is exercising both power and influence (Lukes, 2005). Business involvement and resources are being actively solicited by schools, thereby negating the need for the state (MoE) to adequately fund the public education system. This view is also noted by a sole voice in the Catholic Church, where business influence could be seen as creating dependency and leading to the loss of holistic education.

All voices captured are clear there has never been any structured opportunity to discuss the value and implementation of EE at the school. When limited criticism has occurred, it has been dealt with in a swift manner, through ignoring, deflecting or intervening managerially in favour of the interests of enterprise.

The third dimension of power relates to the shaping of desires and beliefs, thereby averting both conflict and grievances. Power is hidden from view, being the least accessible to observation. Such power can often be operative despite apparent consensus between the powerful and the powerless. In sum, such power is to influence people's wishes and thoughts, inducing them to want things opposed to what would benefit them, and to fail to want what they would recognise, but for such power, to be in their real interests.

Community engagement also provides a defining feature of social enterprise, fitting within the third dimension, and also creates a media point of difference. Once again, power is being exercised by students on an agency basis to exploit and gain leverage out of partnerships with community groups, which have included: Red Cross, Islamic University Students' Association, Refugee Centre and Pacifica support agencies. The focus is for YES students to walk in the footsteps of Edmund Rice in leading the way in supporting the poor and marginalised: "we follow the values of our founder Edmund Rice who was a wealthy businessman who gave up his fortune to help poor children to have an education: we walk in his footsteps" (Student H).

Such an approach is about power and paternalism, and is exercised by students to generate

media attention. If there were true and authentic partnerships in place, students and the school community would be walking alongside those in the community. Students do not want to walk alongside those marginalised in the community, instead they want to lead and exercise their power in setting a market-grounded agenda of 'help'.

All three dimensions of Lukes' (2005) notions of power exist at the case study school. These revelations were not known prior to this research being undertaken. Various stakeholders have engaged in a 'quest to shape public perceptions' within the school and beyond. Students and parents are provided with unrealistic optimism about opportunities for YES participation. They underestimate the levels of inequality, overestimate their own position relative to others, and exaggerate their likelihood of enjoying enterprise success. This is similar to an example of false consciousness related by Frank (2004), who provides a "study involving blue collar patriots reciting the pledge while they strangle their own life chances" (p. 10). The culture of enterprise and success has captured an entire college community. It is a culture fed by consistent winning and media publicity, but only a selected few students directly benefit. The losers are students who are purposefully prevented from engaging in YES. From non-YES student participants there is no view that their real interests have been affected by YES. The belief is they 'chose not' to engage. The erroneous belief that there was a choice reflects a false consciousness was operative (Lukes, 2005). A selection of stakeholders refer to a false consciousness, but its presence is articulated fully by those excluded: non-YES students. Power is also held at a national level by the MoE, and at the case study school by a combination of stakeholders including the SMT, the BoT and select students.

By exploring the broad neo-liberal environment, an insight is gained into how one school has sought to respond with EE to gain a competitive edge. Neo-liberal economic policies have been a prevailing feature globally and within New Zealand society for the past two decades (Welch, 1998). Neo-liberal policy changes are reflected in the structure of schools and EE. However, Lukes' (2005) model also helps reveal a neo-liberal agenda present within the YES programme, and at the case study school. This study therefore helps indicate that neo-liberalism doesn't just exist 'out there' as a theoretical construct; it is a project with very real consequences for the practice of education and the values that are embedded in the educational process.

Stakeholders exist, and through decision and non-decision making they have shared ownership of the social enterprise model. The importance of language usage is emphasised, which clearly fits within dimensions two and three of Lukes' (2005) model. Language usage in response to research questions and provision of further clarifications is strikingly consistent between different stakeholders. The data is mostly empirical, affirming the model. The model also reveals difference or loss of voice within a single stakeholder group, where powerful voices provide the dominant public voice.

15.7 Theoretical Significance of the Work

Although focused on practice, the results of this research are also of theoretical significance. The results affirm an initial decision to employ Lukes' (2005) model of power. The model is sufficiently broad to both acknowledge the value of contributions, but also name limitations, of key theorists including Foucault (1980a), and Freire (1981). Also of significance is that, although Lukes' (2005) model of power has been applied in a number of other contexts, including in a limited manner to education, this is the first known application to a secondary school context (Maxcy, 2011). It potentially contributes to the wider debate of issues of power in education and EE in particular, with respect to the work of Foucault (1980a), Hayward (2000), and Maxcy (2011).

Lukes' (2005) model of power is complimented by the work of Foucault, who helped raise awareness as to how domination is secured through compliance. The case study provides insights into the intimate connection between power and knowledge, particularly expert knowledge on EE, and the corporal as well as cognitive expressions of power. This has helped increase an awareness of the third dimension of power. Foucault (1980a) stressed the productive as well as constraining dynamics of power, which is acknowledged by Lukes (2005). However, Foucault is limiting in terms of his view of power being pervasive throughout all social life. The view is constrained by setting limits and boundaries on subjects where there is no escape from power. Such a position denies the possibility of freedom independent of the effect of power, and undermines the idea of a rational, autonomous moral agent. Lukes (2005) concludes that Foucault has himself exercised an "interesting kind of power", being "the power of seduction" (p. 98).

In an educational context, Hayward (2000) draws on Foucault when comparing two

secondary schools. The research centres on pattern asymmetries in the way institutions and practices shape pedagogic possibility between schools. Hayward (2000) denies the teachers of one school are powerful and that their pedagogy is empowering. In contrast, findings in the current research show the SMT and teachers are powerful actors. Hayward (2000) denies that power is distributed among agents, and argues it operates impersonally by shaping “the field of the possible” (p. 118). Further, it is asserted that teachers and pupils are equally constrained by such (de-faced) power, with circumscribed possibilities and preferred options. However, one of the schools, Fair View, like the case study school, is seen to reproduce and reinforce inequalities both within and beyond the bounds of community.

The current research is all about values, their application in a neo-liberal environment and the moral responsibility of agents. Lukes’ (2005) model does provide a mechanism to analyse these. By failing to act when they could, SMT and other stakeholders in strategic positions become complicit in domination; therefore, they are morally and political responsible. Arguably, a stronger personal obligation exists on dominators to change their behaviour than Hayward’s (2000) approach of collective political responsibility.

A significant advantage of Lukes’ (2005) model of power and the theoretical significance of this research is stressing personal responsibility, which avoids the danger of a Foucauldian-based approach that attributes power directly to impersonal structures. However, once domination is attributed to social structures and institutions, which are persuasive in modern life, it remains unclear what space remains for human beings to fashion themselves. Lukes (2005) observes that, in Foucault’s case, the results undermine the “model of the rational, autonomous human agent” (p. 92). The adoption of Lukes’ (2005) model of power ensures that power can only be attributable to moral agents. Such an approach avoids any inherent dangers in making attributions of domination to social structures and institutions.

The research findings show that at the case study school, despite good intention, there is no ideological critique occurring either from a student perspective or from the majority of stakeholders. There exists no desire to penetrate the everyday reality of EE to reveal the inequalities and oppression that lurk beneath it. Partnerships form an integral part of EE. Although partnerships usually involve commercial relations at the case study school, they

also include engagement with community groups. Power dynamics suggest that students have a specific power and control with respect to such partnerships.

The third dimension of Lukes' (2005) model of power also aligns with Freire's (1970) framework of engagement with respect to the use of language, educational hierarchies and the promotion of social justice. Freire's work has a focus on the potential of education to create change. This is a useful device for exploring current contexts, dominated by a hegemonic neo-liberal agenda (Ditchburn, 2012). The introduction of a new Australian curriculum is not dissimilar to the promotion of EE in New Zealand; "it is a curriculum that emphasises the importance of young people developing skills that can be traded in the global market place in order to secure their own futures and to better serve national interests" (Ditchburn, 2012, p. 347). We are reminded by Freire (1970, 2000) that a curriculum provides a particular, often invisible, values position dictated by those in positions of power in society. This is consistent with the unspoken agenda and seeking of compliance to act against people's real interests as advanced by Lukes (2005). As Apple (1990) notes, "the study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge ... by specific social-groups ... at specific historical moments" (p. 45). Shaull, referring to Freire, encapsulates all of these views: "there is no such thing as a neutral educational process" (2000, p. 34).

In sum, education either ensures cultural continuity and compliance with the existing order, or it can be used to change, to transform the world. To counter this vertical view of curriculum that encourages silence and complicity, Freire believed that education should adopt a critical pedagogy. There are two dimensions. First, a critical pedagogy is "an approach to understanding and shaping the school/society relationship from the perspective of the social relations of production within capitalist societies". Second, a critical pedagogy is about "teaching through critical dialogue and a dialectical analysis of everyday experience" (Macrine, McLaren, & Hill, 2010, p. 2). The social transformation, as identified by Freire (1970), has yet to occur. We know this with respect to the case study school though the use of language, and the lack of any purposeful community partnerships with social justice goals. Such an insight complements the three-dimensional model of Lukes (2005). Freire provides insight into the power of a curriculum document. Insight is also provided into the invisible nature of power in schools. Lukes' work provides a

limitation in terms of a pathway forward once power is identified (see later). Freire asserts a pathway forward in the context of education.

15.8 Comparing my findings to Lukes' Model of Power

Lukes' model of power (1974, 2005) provides a very useful framework for identifying power and influence within the case study school community, and beyond. The stories shared by research participants, combined with field notes and documents, have identified clear relationships of power in accordance with Lukes' model. Without this model of power, the identification of winners and losers would have been difficult because of the diverse range of stakeholders, and the complexities operating within a structured school environment.

An issue of analysis which arose was the conflicting relationships within stakeholders groups. Examples include Catholic Bishops in dispute with those responsible for Catholic education, and the national teacher union (NZPPTA) sharing a different view from many of its members. In both examples the public voices were not representative of existing practice.

Lukes (2005) does not make clear what a leader would have to do to discharge their moral responsibilities. An example being a principal leading a school with an elite programme, diverting school resources to promote it, misrepresenting product capabilities, and micromanaging YES teams, then claiming a readily accessible, innovative, student-directed programme exists. Lukes does not explore the difficulties that such conflicting responsibilities pose in his account of power as domination. The close linkage of power and moral responsibility is oversimplified. Application on matters of moral responsibility presented difficulties without clear direction. The current research identifies areas of moral responsibility, such as operating a YES programme often at the expense of a transparent and equitable school environment. Church and educational values have often been manipulated to advance a social enterprise model. Identification of these moral responsibilities and a suggested pathway to address them is an enhancement of Lukes' silence on the discharging of moral responsibility. Further, an identification of 'real interests' also provides a limitation (Clegg, 1989; Hayward & Lukes, 2008). The absence of grievance does not necessarily imply genuine consensus, because power operates ideologically, influencing people's thoughts and desires so they accept their role in the

existing order of things against their real interests, particularly when the subjects do not articulate them (Vogler, 1998).

Finally, a lack of direction is evident with respect as to what happens once power is identified. There are no cited empirical studies that apply the framework beyond Gaventa's (1980) study of Appalachian miners and Crenson's (1971) study of air pollution. Lukes (2005) does not propose mechanisms to reduce the effects of domination. The identification of power is realised, but practices to reduce power imbalances are not.

Despite some limitations, a valuable enrichment has resulted from the employment of Lukes' model of power. The broadness of the Lukes' framework allows a capture of other theorists within the third dimension. Language is clearly power, and this is identified as a common thread in Foucault (1980) and Freire (1981). Each theorist has provided richness directly relevant to the case study school. Foucault has an emphasis on accountability and surveillance, whereas Freire has a focus on hierarchical structures, social justice, partnerships, democracy, learning and teaching. Collectively the enhanced model has revealed the interests of stakeholders, and identified both power and difference.

Other researchers have also sought to apply the broadness of Lukes' model of power. Vogler (1998, p. 701) proposes a re-conceptualisation of the third dimension of power, namely, as being discursively predicated (Foucault, 1986). The concept of discourse was useful and added value to Lukes (2005) because it sidestepped the unresolvable dilemma of deciding between true and false consciousness, and blended an alternative view of power (Malsch & Gendron, 2011). The broadness of approach is a positive characteristic of the model.

This research provides a different and extended application of Lukes' model of power within a secondary school environment (Ditchburn, 2012), and examined EE at a case study school with multiple and diverse stakeholder relationships. An extended application with other theorists allowed a richness of findings to be rigorously accessed in a different environment. As with Malsch and Gendron (2011), who explored the dynamics of power amongst the main players of accounting, this thesis employed a value-added version of Lukes' multidimensional model of power.

Lukes helps to identify uneven distributions of power, then steps in terms of new steps to creating better relationships. This research has allowed Lukes' model to be extended and

built upon, including suggestion of new practice and informing future policy. Identifying a pathway forward is a direct result from applying Lukes' model to the case study school. Such an approach goes beyond a previously identified deficit of what happens after the existence of power has been identified.

15.9 Addressing Implications

The case study school provides a rich story. I have been able to look across all the data. A question I have constantly considered was does the probative value of EE, as practiced at the case study school, exceed the prejudicial effects. There are good data that suggest a lot of learning and experiences have occurred. The power and influence supporting EE was always present at the school community and nationally. A concerted attempt was made by the school to diffuse the application of enterprise by the adoption of a social enterprise model. The results of power and influence exercised within and outside the school resulted in a poor process of adoption and implementation of enterprise, as the process was rushed and flawed.

An analysis of the situation indicates change is required to achieve a better balance of power between stakeholder voices associated with the case study school. There needs to be structured opportunities for listening and for feedback to be taken into account. Different stakeholder management processes are needed to hear all voices, including those who express difference from within specific stakeholder groups. These voices may not see themselves as losers, and may win in some way and lose in another way; however, they may well lose because their perspectives and voice are not heard.

15.9.1. A School That Listens to All Its Stakeholders

Research findings suggest the school does not listen to all voices. No structured opportunities exist for dialogue. The challenge is for the case study school to act in a more authentic and socially responsible way with a focus on full participation. However, any change in culture and institutional practice is difficult to achieve. Engagement is required to facilitate dialogue, critique, collaboration and community. It is a conversation that starts not with competition and markets, but with a deliberate focus on the range of needs and aspirations of young people (Ditchburn, 2012). Any change to allow genuine stakeholder

engagement may be contested and involve struggle, conflict, negotiation and the exercise of power. Institutional change can be examined, and reflected on, in the context of the adoption of social responsibility for corporate organisations. Lukes' (1974) model of power has been applied to such a process of change and shows how change can be realised (Campbell, 2006). Three pathways are identified:

1. The adoption of corporate social responsibility depends in part on stakeholders publicly pressing corporate managers to act in more responsible ways and monitoring behaviour towards that end. Litigation or public protests and demonstrations would be examples of that sort of power in action. In this sense, power is exercised through overt conflict and struggles between stakeholders and managers.
2. The development of more socially responsible behaviour can involve less conscious behind the scenes efforts to shift the agenda of managers towards more socially responsible behaviour. Peer pressure through business or professional associations or sometimes private, informal appeals from NGO's or institutional investors for socially responsible corporate behaviour [are] examples of the exercise of power at this level.
3. Changes in the deep-seated, taken for granted assumptions of managers in the utility or appropriateness of socially responsible behaviour may stem from on-going forms of dialogue between managers and stakeholders as institutionalised. (Campbell, 2006, p. 104)

The institutionalisation of new management practices, such as corporate social responsibility or a genuine social enterprise model, are settlements among contending stakeholders that seek to influence policy. There are dynamic pressures that ebb and flow, causing this terrain to shift over time. Again, these pressures often involve power dynamics as well as decision making.

Through a process of meaningful stakeholder engagement, misunderstood concepts like social justice and marginalisation, which have different meanings for different people, can be discussed. Such a process would contextualise stakeholder's use of certain words and may directly expose political issues.

A pathway of constructive stakeholder engagement is a practical response. Such direction is important, as Lukes (2005) provides no further guidance beyond Gaventa's (1980) study of Appalachian miners and Crenson's (1971) study of air pollution in two US cities. Lukes (2005) does not propose mechanisms to reduce the effects of domination. However, through listening and analysing participant voice during the research process, themes have emerged and possible directions are identified.

The enterprise phenomenon has been embraced at the case study school. An opportunity and need exists to contribute to a wider debate on the basis of this research. A future pathway is suggested for the case study school, but there is a need to continue the discussion nationally. However, it is important to acknowledge that what has been achieved at the case study school would be difficult to replicate.

The MoE needs to adopt a leadership role in the area of EE. The Ministry needs to move beyond promoting partnership frameworks for schools and business and provide a clear definition and resourcing for EE. There needs to be further discussion around the delivery model of EE. Students, the SMT and the BoT believe that enterprise needs to be compulsory. A consensus appears possible at a national level between public voices advocating enterprise and those opposed. Support appears from both sides for an integrated delivery of EE.

Efforts need to be made to examine the role of organisations performing regional facilitation of the YES scheme. Observations of a lack of fairness, transparency and incompetence are consistently reported from students, SMT and mentors. Further, there appears to be a lack of genuine and free opportunities to express these concerns. This situation is compounded by the nature of ongoing competitive requirements. A safe mechanism is required to provide feedback.

15.9.2. What Good Has Occurred?

For the students who have been selected to be participants in the YES scheme, good skills, experiences and opportunities are realised, and these results are consistent with international findings. Participation in YES schemes assists in building confidence and

self-reliance while simultaneously sobering immature expectations. Although these benefits have been enjoyed by a small number of students, the experience has been part of an extraordinary journey.

There is a shared consensus by the SMT, the BoT and teachers that enterprise will not provide all the answers to current deficits within the curriculum. A passion exists to provide a quality education for all students. Ideas exist about possible new courses relating to civics, social ethics and history. A sense of goodwill exists.

The YES programme does contain the opportunity for quality learning experiences that align with a Freirean model. The programme is extraordinary and contrasts sharply with the banking model of learning (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 55). Such a banking concept of schooling (Freire, 1970, p. 72) exists where teachers simply transfer knowledge to students via a class or lecture. Problem-posing education involves students and teachers negotiating through dialogue the process of learning around solving relevant problems that exist. Students are encouraged to construct knowledge rather than consume it. Critical pedagogy is problem-posing education (Freire, 1970, p. 80). Those fortunate students who participate in YES experience a problem-posing model of education. The key is collaboration: critical pedagogy denotes learning as active rather than passive. A Freirean (1970) process of praxis includes the following stages: “identify a problem, analyse the problem, create a plan of action to address the problem, implement the plan of action, analyse and evaluate the action” (Horn, 2011, p. 10). This is a pathway adopted by students in the current social enterprise model.

Out of the social enterprise model a ‘community of practice’ could emerge (Wenger, 2007). Such a community is formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour. Wenger (2007) suggests that members of a community of practice actively co-construct knowledge. “Much of the group work that goes on in traditional school settings does not allow for students to construct meaning and knowledge through collaborative efforts, rather students are following [a] teacher-centred assembly line” (Horn, 2011, p. 120). A social enterprise model of education has the “potential of building culturally responsive relationships between teachers and students” (Horn, 2011, p. 174). A YES model, although currently experienced by only a few, provides potentially a wider opportunity for learning which aligns to a Freirean model. An

alignment would involve wider and more open discussion about curriculum content and a student-centred focus on approach to delivery. Critical thinking would need to be a key feature of a Freirean model.

Student efforts in terms of community partnerships, in the context of YES, need to be acknowledged. Some student participants report a continued connection with people met in the community during their YES experience. Despite these positive endeavours, according to Freire (1970), these efforts will be of limited use and perpetuate the status quo to the continual benefit of the dominant class, without an emphasis on dialogue of both groups to name and alter their realities. However, solace can also be taken from Freire (1970): “the important thing is the continuing transformation of reality and efforts to continue humanization of people” (p. 92). Students have made efforts to connect with community groups with which they would not normally have engaged. YES participants have shared, worked, played sport and celebrated successes with different groups in the community. Such engagement is special and involves a dynamic of connection between people.

The case study school is in a long-term partnership with the Catholic Church. This relationship has not been affected by the pursuit of EE. With the exception of the public voice of the Catholic Church, which opposed enterprise, a good fit is advocated between enterprise values and those of the Church. With a large number of special character and integrated schools in New Zealand, it would appear a move towards EE could be realised without a loss of core values.

15.10 Chapter Summary

A neo-liberal environment has affected the case study school with both organisational change and the delivery of EE. Such an environment has generated both winners and losers, but fluidity exists within and between stakeholder groups. Lukes’ (2005) model of power has identified the mechanisms for detecting how willing and unwilling compliance has been achieved, leading to domination. It is clear some stakeholders do have a disproportionate amount of power in terms of EE. The mechanisms or tools that have brought about an inequality of voice include explicit decision making, non-decision making and a mainstream culture of enterprise that has emerged at the case study school. This culture is fed by media commentary, the special character of the schools, and rituals

and practice that serve to reproduce and refine power structures and relations at the school.

Chapter 16

Conclusion

This research has captured a journey of power that operates at different levels. There is a power that exists within the school community and has exerted considerable influence on the lives of stakeholders. Lukes (2005) reaffirms that power is essentially a contested concept and therefore inescapably political. It is also important to acknowledge the wider context of a prevailing neo-liberal economic and educational environment within New Zealand. This journey provides an example of how one school has responded to this environment. Finally, the limitations of the study are identified as well as future research opportunities.

A single case study approach has allowed a unique insight into EE within a secondary school. The rich relationships have been identified, explored and critiqued. A rich contribution to existing knowledge of EE has occurred.

The case study school operates in a competitive environment where it is necessary to create points of difference to attract students. A business-operating environment is now in place at the school. The school profile is important and integral for student enrolments. A neo-liberal fusion has been achieved. The YES programme, adopted in 2003, meets both the business needs of the school alongside the need to instil students with business skills and competencies. This fusion, as represented in a social enterprise model, has been successful beyond all expectations in terms of media coverage and national awards received.

The school has a large number of stakeholders who relish the success of the social enterprise model. There are voices within stakeholder groups who disagree with the approach being adopted by the school and within education generally. There have been no attempts or opportunities to engage with stakeholders to identify and listen to any individual concerns or discuss ways to enhance the existing model. The merging of the school's special character with business values into a social enterprise model has made it more acceptable to both the college community and stakeholders, and has provided a shield from criticism.

The school needed to survive in a neo-liberal environment. The SMT was indifferent as to what programme to adopt but it needed to be sustainable and successful. Enterprise was found and refined and it has been a defining characteristic of the school since.

This research reveals a journey about power and the overriding need for a school to survive in an environment in which neo-liberal policies have become mainstream. However, in order to survive poor processes have been adopted with respect to EE. This research indicates a number of flaws relating to a rushed implementation and practice of enterprise at the case study school.

16.1 Who Has the Power?

The concept of power is intimately linked to the notion of interests. It was clearly in the interests of the case study school to survive in a new environment. Due to compliance and financial frameworks, the school was in no position to ignore the neo-liberal change that affected the structure of all schools.

Nationally, the state, through the MoE, has been responsible for structural changes to all schools. This was clearly an exercise of decision making falling within the first dimension of power (Lukes, 2005). However, in terms of EE, the MoE has realised success as identified by the third-dimensional view of power. The phenomenon of enterprise is named in the curriculum document but never fully defined or resourced. Despite a lack of support, the new phenomenon has flourished and achieved mainstream status at the case study school. The case study school could not resist EE, but sought to defuse or moderate the harsh edge of business. Such facts suggest the MoE has both power and influence, both through abstention and non-intervention, which is clearly identified as a capacity. In this context, the MoE's power operates as a potentiality not an actuality; indeed, it is a potential that as yet has never been actualised in terms of decision making with respect to EE.

Other stakeholders have also assisted in influencing, promoting and resourcing EE within the neo-liberal environment. Actions of these stakeholders fall predominantly into the third dimension of power by endeavouring to shape, influence or determine others' beliefs and desires, including those within the college community like students, teachers and the SMT, and thereby securing their acceptance and compliance. Further, these stakeholders were

also able to achieve positive appropriate outcomes to promote the enterprise model without having to act. No serious challenges existed due to a favourable alignment of social relations. An example was teachers within the school community who would not challenge the enterprise model because of the very clear anticipated reactions of those holding power within the school community. In sum, teachers could clearly anticipate expected reactions to unwelcomed activity (or inactivity) on their part, therefore removing the need for overt coercion by management.

16.2 Who Will Speak If We Do Not?

The research identifies an issue at the case study school stemming from its special character, and asks if the SMT, the BoT and the Church should have acted to make changes or abandon EE. The evidence clearly indicates full knowledge existed from all stakeholders that only a small number students were benefiting from enterprise and barriers existed to engagement. In a business model, no issue would have existed as enterprise was producing good media coverage and increased enrolments. However, a special character school should be providing a different values-based context for all students. It could well be argued that there existed a moral responsibility to act. Each of the identified stakeholders could have acted and provided a voice. There is a moral significance for acts of omission, as by failing to act when they could, those in strategic positions may have become complicit in domination. This suggestion of moral responsibility (Lukes, 2005) imposes a much stronger personal obligation on dominators to change their behaviours than attributing them as having “collective political responsibility” (Hayward, 2006). It must be concluded that due to a strong prevailing neo-liberal environment, no stakeholder has spoken in a collective manner to negate any aspect of the social enterprise model. Within some stakeholder groups sole voices have been raised, but no listening or modification has resulted. These voices may foreshadow the beginning of a future voice of moral responsibility to act.

16.3 Who Are the Winners and Who Are the Losers?

In identifying winners and losers, a conscious decision was made to adopt Lukes’ (2005) model of power. No better model was identified. Dowding (2006) identified a rational choice approach. Such an approach exhibits little capacity to illuminate how power shapes

people's preferences. As a result, the view limits analysis to the first and second dimensions while admitting the reality and importance of the third dimension. Further, Hayward (2006, pp. 159-62) recommends greater emphasis be placed on the power exercised by social structures, including the third dimension of power, even while acknowledging a cost in terms of the moral sense of power. At any rate, given the different foci of the two approaches and their distinct but significant analytical limitations, there seems to be no reason why they must be competitive rather than complementary. Thus, both approaches have been incorporated in the preceding chapters to provide a clear example of how the competitive virtues of neo-liberalism should not extend their shadow over this research or the case study school as it moves forward.

In order to identify winners and losers in accordance with the third dimension of power (Lukes, 2005), there is a need to identify real interests. Lukes (2005) notes, "real-interests can be understood as a way of identifying 'basic' or 'central' capabilities which existing agreements preclude" (p. 148). Core capabilities represent people's presumptive real best interests. However, it must be acknowledged that basic capabilities and self-evident interest strategies address only a small subset of people's interests. This creates some difficulty, as an interpretive exercise is required. Both an objective and subjective interpretation is possible. A subjective interpretation is possible of what is important to the individual or what benefits and harms them. However, what counts as benefit and harm is not decided by the individual's preferences or judgements. The core question is where do individual interests lie? What is basic or central to their lives, and what is superficial, remains inherently controversial. Any response means taking sides, which generates moral, political and philosophical controversies. Thus, comparisons involving assessments of power or impacts of stakeholder or agent's interests can never avoid value judgements.

In this context, contestable judgements of significance partly determine the assessment of a stakeholder's overall power: "people are more important the more important the results they can obtain are" (Morriss, 2002, p. 20). Thus, if a stakeholder can affect others' interests more than another, on some view of interests, then other things being equal, it is a ground for supporting the view that one stakeholder's power is greater than that of another. Related are the various views of interests and how stakeholders can affect their interests either in a favourable or unfavourable manner. Initially, Lukes (1974) assumed it must be unfavourable: that power is to act against the other interests. However, his position has

now changed. Lukes (2005) notes power over others can be productive, transformative, authoritative and compatible with dignity. An example is a teacher–student relationship, which is a power relation, though hopefully not always one of domination, but mostly a productive and transformative one in which the student grows intellectually. In such a relationship a teacher may grow, even in a relationship of dependence. This revision allows the possibility to consider that even powerful stakeholders may not always threaten. The powerful could advance the interests of others and sometimes the use of power can benefit all, albeit usually unequally. Further questions arise, such as is a stakeholder’s power greater if they can either favour or disfavour specific interests? When seeking to assess stakeholders’ overall power, how do we weigh up the ability to favour others’ interests with the ability to disfavour them? How do numbers count? How many persons must a stakeholder affect, in respect to their interests, to have more power? The truth is that the concept of power as such “furnishes no decision rules for answering such questions” (Lukes, 2005, p. 484). Thus, context and contestable judgements are important to acknowledge in determining power and therefore identifying winners and losers. An acknowledgment is also required of the fact there are some questions that this research cannot answer fully.

Despite the limitations in determining or ascribing specific power to stakeholders, students who undertake EE and the case study school are the clear winners. Many individual opportunities and experiences have been made available to student participants. The school has experienced an increased media profile. Related stakeholders have leveraged gain from the school’s success, and are seen as winners who support the students, or are seen as supporting students and the school. The state is also a winner, successfully pursuing neo-liberal economic and education policies of which EE is a key feature. EE provides a new phenomenon for schools, which is not state-funded or resourced, has a vague definition, and is thrown over to schools and their communities to interpret and operate. The MoE, in choosing not to intervene, is providing an example of neo-liberalism in its finest form.

The losers include specific stakeholders, including the Catholic Church and teachers’ union, who have individual voices not heard or acknowledged within their own groups. Students who are unable to access the YES programme are identified by some stakeholders as losers, but appear not to see themselves as disadvantaged. There is clear agreement that barriers exist to prevent engagement in the YES programme. It is clear that parents and

students who made the decision to enrol at the school could be, or were, influenced by the success of the social enterprise model, only to find engagement is limited to an elite few. Further, both the school and community are losers for not taking advantage of the enrichment opportunities that potentially exist. The current model of not listening to, or genuinely engaging with, the community is not good role modelling for students. Currently, there is community engagement and partnerships, but on student terms to maximise publicity; however, the college is successfully role modelling survival in a neo-liberal environment.

16.3.1. Can the Success of the Case Study School be replicated?

The case study school differs little from other schools in New Zealand. Schools have a standard curriculum, are affected by government policy direction, structural change, changing community needs and can be seduced by new teaching methodologies and programmes. There would be no difficulties in replicating a similar enterprise programme in another school.

Media success may be difficult to replicate. What would be required is a unique set of circumstances and conditions. These would include a structural change in the way schools are required to operate, and a high-decile Catholic boy's school desperately wanting a point of difference. Further, there would need to be established an SMT and BoT prepared to ignore issues of equality and equity within the school and beyond, and to nurture a new programme directly benefiting a few students but indirectly enriching a whole college community.

16.4 Moving Forward

In order to enhance the current social enterprise model, genuine community engagement with stakeholders is required. There exists a need to refine the existing social enterprise model. A potential exists at the school for evolving the model, as a culture exists of change and innovation. A social enterprise model can be transformed to provide a richer model aligned to the existing rhetoric. The school could provide leadership in the current environment by providing a genuine and sustainable model of social enterprise. Imagine an independent school that seeks to influence ideas and not merely respond to them.

16.5 Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

The enterprise programme at the case study school grew out of a neo-liberal economic environment. The case study school, like all others, now operates as a business. Schools seek difference and competitive advantage over others and this has now become mainstream practice. The case study school is an exceptional example of EE. The school was uniquely placed to take full advantage of the benefits EE offered. Mirroring the school's involvement in enterprise is a dual story of power and influence that has created both winners and losers. However, it seems reasonable to expect many of the findings and themes can be generalised to other educational environments in New Zealand. This story can therefore inform future practice and policy at the case study school and beyond.

16.5.1. The limitations of this study

This study is limited insofar as some voices may not have been heard. It is hoped through connecting with a large number of individual participants across a diverse range of stakeholders that a true and fair picture is captured. It is hoped that the probative value of the voices and source material gathered, analysed and presented negates any deficits. Studies of policy practice are necessarily and unavoidably “shaped by the values that guide the analyst's selections and by the values built into prevailing ‘world views’, ‘frameworks of analysis’, and institutional rules and routines” (Stratton, 1984, p. 34). In other words, an underlying problem in any public policy study is that there are potentially alternative ways of viewing the same policy problem. The challenge to the researcher is therefore to craft studies that provide the best possible explanation for the policy practice that are observed.

The researcher decided the research questions, the method of research, the theory to be applied, and therefore the lens through which the reader will be directed to perceive the policy process of EE as it affects one school. As such, this document becomes inherently political.

16.5.2. Further Research Opportunities

Other educational institutions are being affected by the state mandating EE. An

examination of these institutions, including universities, might shed more light on the extent of variations in policy development, outcomes and impacts.

Further research into an enterprise culture emerging within university education would be of value. Universities in Australasia have changed and now reflect a new enterprise and managerial model. A new 'entrepreneurial spirit' is now operative within universities (Williams, 2002). There is an increased focus on adjusting to the knowledge wave and business partnerships: "competition promises the opportunity to improve learning, broaden access, or focus attention on efficient use of resources" (Newman et al., 2004, p. 1). Educational institutions have embraced not only an entrepreneurial approach in terms of structure, but also delivery, with a focus on courses that attract students. Further, a new managerialism has emerged in New Zealand universities. A generic package exists of management techniques, including an emphasis on productivity and output, sometimes reinforced by performance-related pay. This involves:

The pursuit of continuous improvement defined economically in terms of productivity and outputs; imposition of tighter financial accountability and qualitative measures of performance; the marketization of structured relationships, for example purchase-provider models, and the creation of a government able and flexible workforce. (Wilf & Tarling, 2007, p. 49)

An examination into how enterprise has affected universities, and other educational institutions, would both complement and extend this research. It is hoped that in studying EE, based on an exceptional case study, this thesis can offer practical opportunities for reflection for school management and identified stakeholders at the case study school, other secondary schools, and primary schools.

An aligned area of future research may be: what does it mean to be a special character or Catholic school in a neo-liberal environment? This research has provided an insight based on a study of EE, but has also revealed interesting insights into school operations, governance and the different views within the Catholic Church.

Afterword

I continue to be torn between the two roles of being a passionate advocate for EE with a social justice emphasis, and being its strongest critic. What generates this continual oscillation is the excitement YES generates for student participants each year who are possessed with energy and hope for success. This excitement is usually enough to nourish my passion and expediently encourage blindness to doubts held. It is not difficult to hold this position because it does not require much thought on a daily basis. In terms of Lukes' (2005) framework, there is no exhibited conflict in decision making, at the school, in relation to enterprise. Further, there is clear control over the agenda. EE, including YES, is mainstream within the school community. A mobilisation of bias exists by continual reinforcement of enterprise, and by precluding discussion on its role and status within the school.

As 2010 concluded, the YES team, Oceanic Fusion, won the National Ministry of Pacific Affairs Award and the supreme national award: the Lion Foundation YES Company of the Year. In 2011 a YES team, Advanced Clean Energies, realised four national awards: sustainability, high growth potential, social enterprise, and the Todd Corporation Award for Business Excellence. In 2012 a YES team, Romulus, made breadboards with youth inmates at the local prison, and produced a bilingual cookbook. This team won the regional award and then proceeded to the national awards.

This research has examined power in relation to EE. It has explored three dimensions of power. It is hoped this research will affirm and nourish some individuals with the power to say "no" to some aspects and practices of EE. It is healthy to say "no". Saying "no" may well assist in all voices of enterprise being heard and allow critical thinking to be exercised.

On a personal note, I didn't say "no", even when it was easier to do so having left the school. The culture of power still prevailed, and rewards and goodwill continued to be overwhelming. The media publicity was still in the minds of many people who still made the link between the case study school and enterprise success. Nancy Reagan said it was easy – Just Say No; but it was easier to say YES.

Appendix A: Core Questions for Research Participants

Questions:

1. What does the word 'enterprise' mean to you?
2. How would you define EE?
3. As a student participant in enterprise, are there any other areas (subjects) you would like taught or provided added emphasis at the school?
4. Please describe your involvement or journey with EE while at the case study school?
5. What specific enterprise programmes have you participated in and how would you rate them in terms of their delivery and personal benefit to you?
6. Have you faced any moral/ethical dilemmas while participating in any of the colleges enterprise programmes and if so what?
7. Do you believe enterprise is a subject that should be taught in New Zealand secondary schools?
8. What do you consider the values delivered in enterprise programmes at the college are, what importance is placed on them, and do you consider them sufficient?
9. How would you explain the values that underline the case study school?
10. In your opinion, is there a consistency between the values of the Catholic Church and an Edmund Rice School and EE?

11. If you were to examine EE from a critical perspective, within the school, who would you consider would oppose the delivery of EE and why?
12. If you were to examine enterprise education from a critical perspective, outside the school, who would you consider would support the delivery of EE and why?
13. From your experience of EE, and various programmes delivered at the case study school, what are some of the skills you have learnt?
14. What does it take to succeed in enterprise at school?
15. At the case study school, an expectation exists that aspects of special character should be incorporated, where practical and appropriate, in all subject areas. The new curriculum states enterprise is one of the key values to be taught across subject areas. Would you be comfortable with equal value being given to both these values: Catholic special character and enterprise? (Explain)
16. Within the school community who do you consider first initiated then facilitated the ongoing delivery and growth of EE and why?
17. Out of the people identified as initiating and facilitating EE, who are the people with whom the power or energy resides in terms of enterprise?
18. Have enterprise education programmes raised the profile of the case study school and in what way?
19. Was the delivery of EE at the case study school a factor in your or your family's decision to enrol you at the college?
20. At the case study school, apart from student's participants, who else has benefited from EE programmes (individuals/organisations)?
21. What in your view gives the case study school a competitive advantage in EE?

22. In terms of your historic involvement with the college, what YES companies do you consider to have been worthy and why?
23. Within the case study school community, who do you consider are the winners and losers in terms of EE?
24. With the new mandatory mainstreaming of enterprise values, do you think there may be a reduction of goodwill on the part of the business community to engage with schools as partners and business mentors?
25. If you could paint a picture of the future of New Zealand secondary education, what would be its key features?
26. What do you see as the specific benefits to you, the college, and the community from the social justice-based enterprise programme developed at the case study school?
27. What are the views of your family and relatives about you attending an enterprise school?
28. What are the views of other students who do not participate in extracurricular EE such as the YES programme?
29. Do you believe that business interests have too much or too little influence in relation to EE, and do you see this as good or bad?

Appendix B: Sequence: Voices of Enterprise

1. Students of Enterprise
2. Educators and Teachers of Enterprise Education
3. The SMT—Case Study School
4. The BoT—Case Study School
5. Different Voices of the Catholic Church
6. YES Mentors from the Case Study School
7. Opposition Voices of Enterprise Education Within the School
8. YES Programme Facilitators Regionally and Nationally
9. The Funders of Enterprise Education
10. National Voices of Enterprise Education

Reasoning for the sequence/order in this research:

This sequence relates to the expanding circles where students would be first, as they are central and all education should be focused on them. Research regarding schools is either directly or indirectly conducted with students in mind. Students are central (Horn, 2011). Students represent the school stakeholders with the highest level of participation while also representing the stakeholders with the least amount of capital (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 124-25). Then progression occurs out to the school environment, the changes and then points of engagement for students, including teachers, senior management, the BoT and Catholic Church. Subsequent chapters commence with the most proximate and relevant stakeholders to students in terms of engagement.

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